



OFFICIAL REPORT

OF THE

STATES OF DELIBERATION

OF THE

ISLAND OF GUERNSEY

HANSARD

Royal Court House, Guernsey, Wednesday, 13th December 2023

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Present:

Sir R. J. McMahon, Esq., Bailiff and Presiding Officer

Law Officers

R. M. Titterington, Q.C. (H.M. Comptroller)

People's Deputies

S. E. Aldwell	J. P. Le Tocq
C. P. A Blin	M. P. Leadbeater
A. H. Brouard	D. J. Mahoney
Y. Burford	A. D. S. Matthews
T. L. Bury	L. J. McKenna
A. Cameron	C. P. Meerveld
D. de G. de Lisle	N. G. Moakes
H. L. de Sausmarez	R. C. Murray
J. F. Dyke	V. S. Oliver
S. P. Fairclough	C. N. K. Parkinson
S. J. Falla	R. G. Prow
P. T. R. Ferbrache	L. C. Queripel
A. Gabriel	P. J. Roffey
J. A. B. Gollop	H. J. R. Soulsby
S. P. Haskins	G. A. St Pier
M. A. J. Helyar	A. W. Taylor
N. R. Inder	L. S. Trott
A. Kazantseva-Miller	S. P. J. Vermeulen
C. J. Le Tissier	

Representatives of the Island of Alderney

Alderney Representative E. A. J. Snowdon

The Clerk to the States of Deliberation

S. M. D. Ross, Esq. (States' Greffier)

Absent at the Evocation

Deputy A. C. Dudley-Owen (*relevée à 10h 23*);
Alderney Representative S. Roberts (*relevé à 10h 23*)

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States of Deliberation

*The States met at 9.30 a.m. in the presence of
His Excellency Lt Gen Richard Cripwell
Lieutenant-Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Bailiwick of Guernsey*

THE BAILIFF *in the Chair*

PRAYERS

The States' Greffier

CONVOCATION

The States' Greffier: Billet d'État XXI of 2023. To the Members of the States of the Island of Guernsey, I hereby give notice that a Meeting of the States of Deliberation will be held at the Royal Courthouse on Wednesday, 13th December 2023, at 9.30 a.m. to consider the items listed in this Billet d'État which had been submitted for debate.

Procedural – Order of Business

The Bailiff: Well, good morning, Members of the States, I suppose the first thing to do is to work out what you would like to start with.

10 Deputy Meerveld.

Deputy Meerveld: Sir, I would like to put a proposal to the Assembly that we move forward the continuation of the Motion of No Confidence debate before all other business.

15 Thank you, sir.

The Bailiff: Anyone else? Deputy Prow.

Deputy Prow: Thank you, sir,

20 I do not want to in any way interfere with the motion just proposed by Deputy Meerveld but I would just like to put it to you, sir, and the Assembly, that we have got two pieces of outstanding legislation from the November meeting; the Sanctions and Terrorist Asset Freezing Ordinance and the Criminal Justice Proceeds of Crime Ordinance and I would just like to ask you and put you on notice that sometime before this meeting ends that I would like to propose a motion that these are considered.

25 **The Bailiff:** If we do not reach them then we will think about that in due course, but no motion at the moment. Deputy Roffey.

Deputy Roffey: On a similar theme, there are pieces of legislation from Social Security that reflect the decisions we took over pensions and other benefits and if they are not passed this week

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then we will not be able to make the alterations on 1st January as planned. So please, can Members take that; and I am not asking you for it before the Motion of No Confidence but sometime in the next few days.

35 **The Bailiff:** Okay, well we will log all these for the time being and we will try and remember them at the requisite time. So, the motion is that the debate continues on the motion of no confidence in the Policy & Resources Committee before we turn to any other business at this meeting. Those in favour; those against.

Members voted Pour.

The Bailiff: I will declare that duly carried.

Billet d'État XX

2. Motion of No Confidence in the Policy & Resources Committee – Debate continued – Proposition carried

Article 2

The States are asked:

Whether, after consideration of the motion of no confidence in the President and Members of the Policy & Resources Committee dated 1st November 2023, signed by Deputy C.N.K. Parkinson and six other Members of the States, they are of the opinion: -

1. To decide, in accordance with Rule 21 of the Rules of Procedure, that the States of Deliberation require the immediate resignation of the President and Members of the Policy & Resources Committee, they having no confidence in the said Committee.

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The Bailiff: Deputy Trott.

Deputy Trott: Sir, I would like to rise to give notice, I have not spoken in this debate and if necessary I shall look to move Rule 26(1) at midday.

Thank you, sir.

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The Bailiff: Thank you. Does anyone actually want to speak in debate on the motion?
Deputy Oliver.

Deputy Oliver: Thank you, sir.

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I think this is a really sad time when we have a motion of no confidence against any Committee, because it means that you just do not believe in the way they are travelling. Now, I think that in order for me to come to some conclusion I have listened very carefully to all the previous debates and I have also looked at my time as a Deputy and the mandate of what P&R is and I think that, overall, I would say that this term we have actually achieved some things which have been really good and I think that P&R is a top Committee. So, it is always instrumental that P&R are pushing us forward, which they have done, and I feel that it has happened a lot more this time than last time.

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I think that this P&R, looking at their mandate, are the only ones that have actually really thought about the future and what we need to accommodate for the future. So I think that is a massive tip and it is something that no one has ever spoken about within this Assembly to date; is the future

60 and what it is going to look like and P&R have tried to address it. It is not P&R's fault, it is the States as a whole, that we are so indecisive.

I think also we need to look at our Government and how it is. I just feel that so many times, and I do not think it is just P&R I think it is other mandates as well, that we are just so hamstrung by rules, like the rule this morning, we just forget to use our common sense and I think so many times
65 P&R, particularly, try to do things and they are just bogged down by rule after rule and we just think, we do not make it easy for ourselves at all.

I think that something really needs to be addressed and by changing P&R, if all of you think that that is going to change the way that we are hamstrung by not doing things because of this rule and that rule, I think you are just going to be really disappointed. So I think on whole, I think it is the old
70 saying, 'Better the devil you know' and looking at both terms I am pleased with the way that P&R are progressing.

I am actually really disappointed that Deputy Helyar and Deputy Moakes decided to resign, (*Interjection*) I do think that it would be a real loss to the Committee but I think that there are two spaces there, so there are two spaces up for somebody that thinks they can change the direction,
75 but I just think that P&R with Deputy Le Tocq, Deputy Ferbrache and Deputy Bob Murray, my brain is not in gear it is too early, but just please, please, there are 18 months to go; it is going to take at least six months for a new Committee to get its feet in, so can we just stick with what we have got.

The Bailiff: Deputy Murray.
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Deputy Murray: Thank you, sir.

There are actually only two Members in the Assembly today who share the position, a unique position I suppose, of having been both inside and outside of this current P&R; myself and, of course, Deputy Soulsby. So listening to some of the speeches on this motion, hitherto, that simply
85 states that the seven signatories do not have confidence in the Committee *en bloc*, but then hearing about historic concerns as well as current issues which affect both of our time as Members is actually quite challenging.

However, the nexus I would suggest between Deputy Soulsby and myself is certainly, to some degree at least, the opposing positions we have on the issue of GST as past and present Members
90 of P&R and without a doubt it is the Committee's position on GST which has prompted this motion, in my opinion. Indeed it has been echoed by other Members, notwithstanding other concerns of course, that have been raised subsequently in debate.

I feel confident in stating that since the lead signatory, Deputy Parkinson, has been calling for such a motion since the tax debate in February and since Deputy Parkinson has a history of
95 threatening at least MONC's against the senior Committee of the day, which I believe and I am sure he will correct me if I am wrong, brought down the Policy Council in 2007, there was a certain inevitability that we would end up here, despite his rather disparaging use of the epithet 'lily-livered' to the media when describing the lack of participation by some colleagues at the outset of the process. But he and others have cited the failure of what is described by others as P&R's flagship
100 policy on GST as a fundamental reason for the Committee to step down. I am going to say more about that in a moment.

The Bailiff: Point of correction, Deputy Roffey.

Deputy Roffey: Sorry to interrupt. I think I heard Deputy Murray say that Deputy Parkinson was
105 involved in bringing down the Policy Council in 2007. I was a Member of the Policy Council in 2007. I do not think anybody brought us down. I think I resigned first, then Deputy Falla resigned and then a number of other Members resigned. I do not remember any motion forcing us from office.

Deputy Murray: Thank you for that correction, obviously my data is not correct if that is the
110 case and I would obviously withdraw that. I am going to say more about the GST, but since a failure

of leadership has also been mentioned let me point out the dichotomy that exists between leadership and consensus in our system of government and the somewhat varied understanding, I feel, displayed by some Members, at least, of what that actually represents, because there is a thin line between achieving consensus and capitulating to the lowest common denominator that 40 individuals will accept, especially on controversial issues.

Capitulation is not leadership, not in my opinion, particularly when a single vote can determine a majority position and that, in itself, clearly does not demonstrate the condition of consensus, rather a sliver of the democratic process in action. Sir, upon Deputy Soulsby's resignation from P&R both Deputy St Pier and I put ourselves forward for that vacant position.

In my pitch for that position, I made it clear that if the Assembly wanted somebody with a similar experience and capability as Deputy Soulsby, then they should vote for Deputy St Pier. By contrast, I majored upon the need to have courage. In fact, I mentioned the word 12 times in my address to the Assembly. I could have not have known then what I know now, how fundamental courage is as a prerequisite to prosecute the mandate of P&R, and there are only a few in this Assembly who have occupied those seats historically and consequently whilst it is very easy to be critical of the current Members and their actions it is not so easy to walk in those shoes and to stay the course on what you believe to be in the Island's best interest.

So, sir, I am going to offer a different view on what I think is being seen and certainly promoted as the catalyst for this motion; the content and the outcome of the Funding & Investment Plan, since some Members have chosen to describe it in terms of P&R having lost the room or the dressing room and even lost the confidence of the Island.

Now these are all very sensational and emotive and it certainly suits a narrative which is both reductive and selective when compared to the reality, in my opinion. But let me reassure the Assembly that I will also respond to some of the other assertions that have been made during the debate in due course.

Now, the proposals brought by P&R on the F&IP were a genuine attempt, a genuine attempt to provide choice and options for the Assembly, bearing in mind that the earlier tax debate, that had variously split us completely in half over the Fairer Alternative proposals, had garnered only 10 supporters for Deputy Parkinson's own alternative and had only gained 15 supporters for GST.

There was simply no consensus then and I would contend there is not consensus now. Sir, it seems to have been overlooked that P&R brought four options as part of the F&IP proposals, only one of which contained GST and I had already signalled that intention during the July Green Paper debate on the GWP.

The core proposal from P&R was actually supported by 35 Members despite it containing £95 million of CapEx and a range of revenue raising measures which included the contentious issue of transport taxes. Given the size of that majority, I would judge that to be largely the only consensus of a material outcome on the entire debate.

P&R brought three further scenarios for consideration and indeed scenario 1 was also carried, albeit with the addition of the OHM Project inserted by amendment. Now, in relation to that development Deputy Taylor, quite rightly, has made a number of references to the plea I made to many Committees not to pick and mix amongst the CapEx portfolios originally assigned to each portfolio, not without removing something first. That did not happen.

So whilst P&R did not support the insertion, a majority of Members did. Now that changed the rationale behind that particular scenario that was brought to provide Members with a no frills CapEx option for the rest of the term, one that would not necessitate further borrowing, another contentious issue, which P&R recognised might therefore be the preferred option by some Members. That was brought for the Assembly to choose, a far cry from the suggestion that we were not listening to the clarion call by some Members not to force GST upon this Assembly. That unfortunately seems to have been conveniently forgotten by some Members.

So, using the logic being promoted by detractors should our failure to get that scenario 1 over the line, unamended, be perceived as a lack of leadership too? I would suggest that is not the case. On the subject of leadership, P&R requested officers following the February tax debate to go

through the entire CapEx portfolio given that they are far closer to the nuances, costs and dependencies to give the Committee their views, their views on how we could construct and afford to reprioritise the entire portfolio as soon as possible, not wait as suggested by the Assembly, until 2024.

Contrary to the suggestion by Deputy Leadbeater that I must have influenced the outcome, I did not. This was an objective exercise by officers. Indeed, I made every attempt thereafter to find a means of ensuring both major projects could be undertaken by arranging meetings between the Presidents and officers of both HSC and ESC and instructing officers to talk on the likelihood of being able to undertake both projects simultaneously with the main contractor; who, by the way, said it was entirely practical to do so.

Furthermore, 29 Members supported the Committee's original proposal during the GWP Green Paper debate to focus upon three strategic portfolios of work; one of which is to explore the sustainability of our health and social care and for which P&R have proposed a significant sum of money being made available to explore that.

I believe that demonstrates leadership on the part of P&R. First seeking and obtaining consensus for the GWP approach from the Assembly, as a whole, particularly since it is the future costs of health care that, we are all well aware from our demographic challenges, represents the greatest difficulty we have in allocating sufficient tax revenues, looking to the future, as we heard this morning.

Let me say, sir, on a personal note, I am on record in supporting Deputy Brouard for the courage he has shown in taking on the responsibility for HSC when nobody else would. I am also on record in praising his Committee's courage for the attempt that they made in attempting to introduce a fairer policy for attendees at A&E, albeit having to withdraw the proposal following widespread public opposition.

I do not believe anybody has made the suggestion that HSC have lost the trust of the public as a consequence of trying to introduce an unpopular change in the status quo. So, let me move on from the whole subject of condemning P&R for not being prepared to listen over GST. As I have explained, it was but one option we proposed and actually some of the rest of the F&IP proposals were, in fact, accepted and contrary to another popular narrative P&R have no intention of reintroducing it.

Now, Deputy Cameron made a few claims regarding IT and P&R's apparent failings in that arena, as well as the shortcomings in the Transformation Program and, for the record, I did have a brief discussion with him afterwards when we broke for lunch to try to explain where we were in relation to the website problems, in particular that he cited at the original meeting on this motion.

This was another area of Deputy Soulsby's responsibility that I took over and I am of the understanding that she too, was not at all happy with the handling of the Transformation Program that she too inherited. But I very much doubt that she had any inkling of the true extent of the vulnerabilities that the operation of the IT provision had got itself into, and neither did I, or P&R more generally, until the outages we experienced a year ago.

But there was and is an intrinsic link between our IT platforms and the Transformation Programme in so far as the back office of the hub mentioned, I think, by Deputy Cameron is a key component and it did not materialise at the speed it had been expected and that was a major problem for the whole MyGov project.

But it must be borne in mind that the journey towards that goal began as far back as 2017 when IT across the entirety of Government was sitting within individual Committees. In practice, that has left us with hundreds of applications that are in need of replacement and one of those is referred to by Deputy Cameron, the gov.gg website, which is operating on an old content management system or CMS.

So whilst we have now moved all but a very few outlying data centre systems still operating within Committee spaces to fully managed fit for purpose data centres, most of the applications remain outdated and it will cost a huge amount of money to replace them but it will have to be done and is being done, but it will take time.

But whilst the overall responsibility for both transformation and Government IT provision sits with P&R we just happen to be the individuals in post when a major outage alerted us all to the need to take considerable action and we have. Not just the new hardware, but with procedures, new appointments of key personnel in the intelligent client function and a new Interim Head of Transformation and it is already bearing fruit.

Given Deputy Cameron's position on Education what I can confirm to him is that subsequent to moving to the new data centres we have had some feedback from Education confirming considerable increases in speed of access. These are improvements, are we out of the woods? We certainly are not, but whilst I share his frustration about past difficulties, I do not share his suggestion that this P&R have in any way underperformed on their part of addressing and attempting to remedy those difficulties immediately they became aware. This is a massive job but it certainly is not any evidence of any continuity of incompetence that Deputy Queripel, quite rightly, expressed concerns about; quite the reverse.

Now, Deputy Fairclough made a couple of assertions, one I completely agree with and one I do not. He expressed concerns that the Assembly have not seen anything in respect of the Machinery of Government Sub-Committee of which P&R have a responsibility, and I agree with him. This is another area that I took over from Deputy Soulsby and although I have only attended a couple of meetings it is clear that much work had been done on this in terms of research particularly. But the proposals, which will shortly be published in a policy letter, will not, in my own opinion, go far enough; certainly not to satisfy the public, but they are cognisant of the response that anything more progressive just might not gain Assembly acceptance.

My worry is that in the court of public opinion they will not be seen to go far enough. There has perhaps been something of a hiatus on this policy letter, perhaps exacerbated by the departure of Deputy Soulsby as Chair, but I can certainly attest to the work that was done under her leadership.

But Deputy Fairclough made another claim that the GWP has floundered. Well, as I have previously mentioned far from floundering the massive undertaking that the GWP represents, which was headed originally by Deputy Soulsby quite successfully, has had of necessity to be reset given lack of resources; financial and physical and that reset was given substantial backing in principle by 29 Members of the Assembly in July.

The fact that we have not been able to actually debate the subsequent policy letter, which was published a couple of months ago, is a result of the time this Assembly has taken on debates on the F&IP and the budget. It was in fact supposed to be debated in October and then last month and now at this meeting.

But I must caution him and the Assembly that should this motion succeed it would be completely, completely unreasonable for any new P&R to be expected to simply endorse the proposals of a Committee who had been removed due to a lack of confidence in their ability. Indeed, Deputy Kazantseva-Miller made this very claim before we embarked on this motion that we get the GWP out of the way first. That was not the will of the Assembly, not P&R.

So if the GWP is to flounder it is not due to any inaction on the part of P&R and given the support during that Green Paper debate, which was designed to test the Assembly's appetite before finalising the policy letter, I do not think it is reasonable to propose it as some sort of failing under P&R's mandate.

Now Deputy de Lisle, a signatory to the MONC, makes all sorts of accusations. Largely that it has not been sympathetic to the plight of Islanders, burdening them with increases in TRP, scaring them with talk of GST and especially with high inflation, then saddling them with future debt from borrowing.

Now, I do not mean any disrespect but I do not believe Deputy de Lisle has grasped the true reality of the state of our Government finances despite having a personal meeting with Treasury officers and myself during the preparatory engagement we had with Members to discuss the F&IP in the summer.

Indeed, I have a recollection that his response to what was being explained to him was that we should simply make cuts and particularly, I believe he mentioned, to benefits. Well, as has been well

reported, P&R set up a sub-committee chaired by Deputy Mahoney and with a number of Members of this Assembly and a member of the public, to look at exactly that; cuts.

270 You cannot accuse P&R of not showing leadership or not listening when they have been done as were asked and I have to remind Deputy de Lisle that in terms of cuts, it was in fact he who successfully overturned ESC's attempt to improve the educational experience for Herm students whilst saving a not inconsiderable amount of taxpayers' money. Meaning that taxpayer is now funding Herm students to the tune of about £80,000 per pupil. Not a big win for saving money. You
275 cannot have it both ways.

I do not think that anything this P&R, or indeed any P&R does, that involves raising money to pay for necessary services is actually going to satisfy him. It is not an attempt by P&R to penalise the public, it is having to make very difficult and unpopular decisions, something that Deputy de Lisle, at least, seems unwilling to do, and I for one would truly welcome any realistic suggestions he
280 might have about how we can square the public finances circle; I have not heard anything tangible in the last three years to do that in a material way.

Now, Deputy Gollop said he thought P&R had been supportive of ESS and mentioned housing (**A Member:** Hear, hear.) but Deputy Roffey was more qualified. He seemed to think that some prospective properties had been lost in the early part of the term due to slow response from P&R.
285 I cannot comment on that allegation, I was not a Member.

But what I do know is that P&R has made over £30 million available for affordable housing and more recently, despite a very comprehensive meeting with both ESS and the GHA who advised us that as a maturing organisation they now have additional funds for maintenance to find, we have not yet had sight of the 30-year business plan I know them to be working on. And yet, without
290 equivocation P&R supported the request under the F&IP for a further £150 million in an attempt to assist the very same Islanders experiencing financial challenges that Deputy de Lisle accuses us of ignoring. There is something wrong with this picture. (**A Member:** Hear, hear.)

Similarly, P&R is being accused of being inflexible – their way or the highway. (*Interjection*) But, as Deputy Brouard reminded us none of P&R, past or present, came into this term intent on
295 imposing more taxes. But the realities of what we have experienced externally, let alone the cold realisation that we cannot afford our future by carrying on as we are, was the genesis of the GST package and at huge political cost.

We all had to face a new reality or stick with manifesto promises that simply would further delay and reduce our reserves faster due to a burgeoning structural deficit. That indeed was a *volte face*
300 and I am guilty as charged, and if I have to be hung out to dry for doing what I perceive to be in the best interests of the Island then so be it, but at least I was prepared to change faced with the evidence.

And that is a good segue onto another signatory to the motion, my good friend and he is a good friend, Deputy Vermeulen. Now, here is a Deputy who cannot be charged with changing his
305 mind and on two very specific issues both of them, I believe, being manifesto promises and I suspect they are linked.

He has reminded us on many occasions including during this debate that what we need is growth, (**A Member:** Hear, hear.) growth and a runway extension. Now, I do not think he would find argument with P&R on growth, if it could be delivered with the current backdrop of acute housing
310 shortages and there is welcome news this week that we have, in fact, experienced an unanticipated 4% growth during 2022.

But to go beyond that since we already have the business with maybe a couple of thousand vacancies across all sectors, we simply cannot service it due to housing. This fundamental problem was hugely exacerbated due to COVID and Brexit and I would be surprised, indeed, if Deputy
315 Vermeulen does not recognise the impact our housing difficulties have on growth in the economy. Technology, however, will help with productivity and we could certainly eke some additional growth out of that. But the plain facts are that we are hugely limited in what we can further expect from growth for the foreseeable future.

320 In fact, we are spending millions, millions just to hold on to the business that we have in the finance sector, given the preparation we are doing for Moneyval. Deputy Vermeulen knows this too and he also knows that P&R have been totally supportive of all the requests made by Home Affairs to ensure we have the right people, the right premises and the right legislation in place. Some 82 pieces of enactment we have actually managed to get through.

325 What we did not do, however, and I am aware that this has been a disappointment to him, was to support his proposal to extend the runway, but then some 36 Members, or near enough, of the Assembly chose not to either. If we want to talk about finding consensus then I am afraid it is not just P&R who have that responsibility we all have.

330 On that particular issue it was Deputy Vermeulen, perhaps, who lost the room or indeed the hangar. *(Laughter)* Now, Deputy Vermeulen also expressed concern, and rightly, about the suggestion that the behaviour of some Members has not been appropriate and this is being proposed as evidence of a lack of leadership from the top, if it is true, but we are very much in the territory of 'he said' here unfortunately and certainly any abuse towards officers is definitely not acceptable; if that is what has occurred.

335 But behaviour between Deputies, whilst governed by a Code of Conduct, is going to hit choppy waters on occasion and perhaps we need to consider a separate option based specifically upon acceptable behaviour; a new code if you will. My colleague, Deputy Le Tocq, advises such a thing exists in the Australian Parliament, for example, and might be something that would be welcomed by the Assembly.

340 Unacceptable behaviour, clearly, should never be a consequence of gender but competing priorities and passion for a subject can and does lead to robust exchanges of views between Deputies and we can all fall into those sorts of difficulties. As an example; Deputy St Pier cited the debate on Absolute Privilege and he said that all Members of P&R 'piled on' during that debate. It certainly was not anybody's finest hour (**A Member:** Hear, hear.) and for my part I was very concerned to discover that the Rules permit almost no sanction on any Member, Deputy St Pier or otherwise, to say almost anything they want. Incorrect, knowingly or not, it still exercises me greatly. 345 And whilst I indeed indicated that I nevertheless felt the outcome was incorrect it was not true to say that all Members of P&R 'piled on' simply because of this apparent tribal feud that he referred to which exists between himself and Deputy Ferbrache. It was more than that for me certainly.

350 **Deputy St Pier:** Point of correction, sir.

The Bailiff: Point of correction, Deputy St Pier.

355 **Deputy St Pier:** Sir, I have repeatedly said I do not believe there is a tribal feud between Deputy Ferbrache and myself; quite the contrary.

The Bailiff: Yes, I think that is correct, Deputy Murray.

360 **Deputy Murray:** My mistake, sir, I think it was referred to, but not necessarily in that context. But as to 'piling on', I experienced exactly that when I brought the sursis on the electricity debate. I believe every Member of E&I did their best to discredit the sursis and it certainly also got somewhat personal with at least two of their Members.

365 But it was, I believe, borne out of pure frustration at the prospect of delay and I totally get that; I totally get that. Nevertheless, things were said and subsequently to the media, which were not very complimentary or even parliamentary, when the Assembly was accused of being lazy and idiotic for supporting it. That was, again, purely borne out of frustration; I did not take offence, I understood completely. I have felt equally passionate about a project I have been heavily invested and involved in.

370 But this is the nature of politics; it leads to very strong feelings and indeed Deputy St Pier himself was quoted in the *Bailiwick Express* last term following the failure of an amendment over the

Seafront Enhancement Project as saying the result showed 'a pathetic lack of understanding by that Assembly'.

So, we can all be guilty of saying things in the heat of the moment simply because we are anxious, anxious to achieve progress or see others apparently seeking to thwart that progress. But nevertheless, Deputy St Pier is no shrinking violet at the best of times. He has accused P&R of incontinent fiscal management (*Interjection*) and not for the first time. Now, I have to hope and presume he means that we have not exercised sufficient restraint over Government finances.

Well, I can only speak to the significant work done on this year's budget where we requested Committees to look to save 2.5% on their individual budgets. Some did, but the majority struggled to meet those targets and there were howls of protest from some Members when savings had been proposed. A case in point being sports funding identified by Deputy Leadbeater during this debate, who could not see the rationale for not supporting the original cuts proposal from ESC. Indeed, he was not alone, given that announcement was originally made in close proximity to the Island Games during the Green Paper debate on the GWP. And here is the rub, as Deputy St Pier knows full well, any Committee who feels that they cannot live within the imposed constraints is always going to be free to come to the Assembly and plead their case if P&R will not agree to their proposals.

Two members of ESC are doing exactly that on the forthcoming GWP. E&I wanted more than we were prepared to give to further subsidise bus fares but in their case they were prepared to raise funds from motorists to do that and were successful in getting the Assembly to support it during the budget debate, despite P&R's opposition. HSC, as has been mentioned I believe, asked for £10 million and we agreed on £4 million but they are working to that and to be fair to them have identified a number of areas where they may need to introduce new charges, which I am sure will be contentious when it comes to it.

The point being that we have worked with Committees and we have challenged budgets, something that some Members during this debate have accused P&R of not doing, but clearly not robustly enough to satisfy Deputy St Pier. And as to a failure to borrow at the right time, he may well be right in hindsight but given the considerable opposition across this Assembly to entertain any borrowing it is debateable whether any earlier attempt would have garnered enough support anyway.

Sir, I have addressed some of the reasons being put forward by some Members as legitimate for supporting a vote of no confidence in P&R, I have offered an alternative narrative, evidence as I have seen it from my perspective and my time on the Committee. Deputy Kazantseva-Miller made a very balanced contribution by identifying the very early divisions between us all from the outset. I think the dye was indeed cast and many of us are guilty of perhaps adopting a stance that may well have hardened attitudes. It may well even have encouraged this motion.

Should it succeed, what is clear is that we will be in somewhat uncharted territory as the chess pieces move around the Assembly board. I honestly cannot predict whether this very public bloodletting will lead to a better or worse outcome for the last months of this term, but I am quite confident that our behaviour is not what the public want from us. They place their trust in us and we need to renew that trust amongst ourselves. Let none of us lose sight of that when we cast our votes.

Thank you, sir.

The Bailiff: If no one else wishes to speak in debate on the motion, Deputy Taylor.

Deputy Taylor: I had hoped I would have a little bit more time because I have had a few technical issues and I have lost my speech, (*Laughter*) so I am working off my own personal laptop. So, I probably will not get across all the points I wanted to make but I would rather make some given I am one of the signatories to this motion.

Well I think, I am trying to remember what I had put, but I stand here as possibly the only Member in this Assembly that has faced, in this term, effectively faced a motion of no confidence, as no confidence in my position as Vice-President of the Development & Planning Authority. You

can draw parallels because that was an unnecessarily drawn out process as well; it just seemed to drag on.

425 The reason I did want to start with that is because the comments made by Deputy Ferbrache in response to that to *The Guernsey Press*, I will read them out. He supported Deputy Oliver and the Committee's position to remove me as the Vice-President and stated to *The Guernsey Press*:

My personal view is that if a Vice President no longer enjoys the support of their President or the majority of their Members to continue in that role, they should do the right thing and stand down from that role. It helps no one, including the public who we all serve, to have a Member insist on holding on to a role ...

And this is a really important part, so I have underlined this and put it in bold:

... when they have no intention of trying to work together with their colleagues.

430

Now, I will give Deputy Ferbrache the option or the opportunity to highlight any email or any correspondence he had with me where we discussed my intentions or how he was able to conclude that I had no intention of working with my colleagues. But I can save everyone their time, he never contacted me. There was never any contact to see my position during that time.

435 But he did comment to *The Guernsey Press*, which I think is incredibly relevant given some of the comments and concerns raised by other Members, in particular Deputy to Sausmarez, that they were cast aside because, 'Well she has not come and spoken, we have not discussed this properly, you know, these have not been aired through the proper channels'. But here is the Chief Minister, who is making these sweeping statements about one of his political colleagues and I absolutely
440 have every intention of working with all my colleagues. I work with all of you and none of you when I see fit. So, when I hear all these comments about having an open door policy, well frankly, I just do not buy it, I do not even have a door (*Laughter*) so anyone can approach me.

But the next issue I have and this comes under, I will give a reference to the mandated responsibility, sir, I know you did ask for that, I think it is A4. Policy & Resources, one of their
445 responsibilities is advising, when necessary, on the implications of other Committees proposals, policies and activities and in particular when they accord with States' objectives and policies and plans.

I give that just because I fear otherwise I might get accused of going wildly off topic when I talk about the Castel Hospital because Members will be well aware that the Development & Planning
450 Authority voted, by majority, to list the Castel Hospital, and even if you were living under a rock in the middle of Timbuktu you would probably be well aware that Policy & Resources Committee were somewhat livid, my words, at that decision.

So I am now going to read a quote, this is from Deputy Peter Ferbrache, the Chief Minister, on I think it was 17th July at the Chamber of Commerce lunch referring to the decision by the
455 Development Planning Authority. He said:

You cannot knock it down, you will never be able to develop it, so there is an asset that some politicians believe is so important to keep in its squalor and its decay and it is not going to be an asset that can be used by the public of Guernsey.

(Several Members: Hear, hear.)

That might well be the view that some Members share but that is not an accurate description of the actual planning policies for listed buildings. But most importantly, the Development & Planning Authority were acting under their mandated responsibilities, so for the senior politician to then
460 undermine that Committee's decision and basically rubbish it, again not to the Committee, to a Chamber of Commerce lunch.

Deputy Oliver: Point of correction, sir.

465 **The Bailiff:** Point of correction, Deputy Oliver.

Deputy Oliver: P&R had actually approached me previous to the Chamber lunch asking why we had listed it and I gave reasons. So, it was not just rubbishing it to the Chamber, he had already come and spoken to me about it.

470 **The Bailiff:** Deputy Taylor to continue.

Deputy Taylor: Well, I do not think you can dismiss the comments that were made. We were acting within our mandated responsibility (*Interjection*) but it carries on because it is right, you know there is a, Deputy Oliver just muttering that they were challenging it, there is a process for this
475 Assembly to challenge decisions. There is a process to follow. I would put money that if the DPA were acting outside their mandate of responsibility and Deputy Ferbrache was representing that person in his litigant role, he would have a field day if he knew that the Committee had not acted in accordance with its mandated responsibility.

So that is what we do, we have got a duty to do that, it might not necessarily sit with us quite
480 right but we have a mandated responsibility to do that. So it is not great to have that undermined in the public arena. If the Members of Policy & Resources Committee wanted to come back to the States and bring that proposal so we discuss it and override it, that is fine, but that is not the way it was done and it has not been done, but it carried on.

Now, the next part I want to refer to is still on the Castel Hospital. We are jumping forward to
485 7th September; it is an article that was written by Deputy Ferbrache, again, saying we have to attack our housing problem with a vengeance. Fully agree, do not dispute that, but we get sidetracked again because it moans about the Castel Hospital being listed. It is like all our problems with housing are because the DPA listed the Castel Hospital. That is not the case. The Castel Hospital does not sit in a main or local centre. It is not a housing site, it could be used for one and there are policies to go through to do that, but listing was not the main issue.

490 But the real reason I wanted to raise this article is comments made, again, by Deputy Ferbrache about me. So if I scroll down Deputy Ferbrache says:

Of course, in an ideal world, it would be better if it could simply be listed and restored.

Deputy Taylor, who was a Member of the DPA, and I were having a conversation about something completely different recently when he asked me how I was qualified to give a view about
495 such matters, I answered with the phrase 'common sense'. I believe he thought that I had said that the property was not structurally sound. I do not believe I ever said that, but if I did, I could have been wrong. I will not carry on with that.

Now I would like, just for the public record, to give my recollection of that meeting, because it was not just a chance conversation with Deputy Ferbrache and I in the halls of Frossard House, that
500 was a meeting where Members of the Policy & Resources Committee, Deputy Ferbrache and I think Deputy Murray, but I stand to be corrected, were giving us a high level briefing of the Funding & Investment Plan before it was properly published.

Deputy Vermeulen, quite rightly, had raised his view about savings that should be made, and in response Deputy Ferbrache made a comment, rather flippantly, that, and I am paraphrasing in a
505 sense but this is my recollection of it, that we are doing the best we can to save money but some Members are doing everything they can to increase costs for Government. Then he referred to a decision made by Members of the Development and Planning Authority to list a building that, in fact, they should be admitted to.

I am giving him the opportunity if he wants to stand up and correct that. But that is my
510 recollection of what he said and I hope other Members who were in that meeting would back me up on that, because I think it was wholly inappropriate to make a comment about that, about the way a committee might make its decisions, but to then reference that elected Members of our Government should be admitted into a mental health institution because of the way they act.

515 **Deputy Ferbrache:** Point of correction, sir.

The Bailiff: Correct point of correction, Deputy Ferbrache.

Deputy Ferbrache: I defy anybody to say that people should be admitted to the Castel Hospital or any other institution in relation to that. So if he could produce a minute from that meeting which says that, then I will stand corrected. I have not said that, I would not say that, that is disparaging.

The Bailiff: Deputy Taylor.

Deputy Taylor: Well, sir, I absolutely stand by my comments. It is not in the minutes but I heard it and I will stand by it and the fact that Deputy Ferbrache has stood up and denied it absolutely cements to me why this motion of no confidence needs to go through, because he should not have denied that; he absolutely said it.

Now from there, sir, I definitely do not have any more notes as Members are probably quite happy about. But I do want to put on the record just for the benefit of Deputy Le Tocq and Deputy Murray; I do not have any concern about your actions. In signing this, it was a bigger picture taken out, principally Deputy Ferbrache. I have not felt comfortable with the way he runs the Committee; I feel it is slightly concerning the way that concerns about bullying are just brushed under the carpet, he just ignores it. It should have gone through a Code of Conduct. It just does not sit well with me.

But I just want to put on the record to Deputy Murray and Deputy Le Tocq I was not bringing this motion about the two of you. So with that said I will sit down but I hope Members will support this this motion. I think a bit of a shake up in this room would be a good thing, move a few bums on seats. I would ideally like to get my seat back from Deputy Kazantseva-Miller (*Laughter*) but I do not think any motion should be involved in that. But a bit of a move around, I think would do us good.

Deputy Kazantseva-Miller: Point of correction.

The Bailiff: Point of correction. Deputy Kazantseva-Miller.

Deputy Kazantseva-Miller: This is not my seat there is open seating in the Assembly, as Deputy Taylor well knows.

Thank you very much.

The Bailiff: Deputy Taylor.

Deputy Taylor: That is a fair point of correction, I suppose, but I just like sitting there. But anyway, I hope Members will support this so that we can get a bit of a shake around and hopefully breathe a bit of life into this Assembly for the next 18 months.

Thank you.

The Bailiff: Deputy Dudley-Owen and Alderney Representative Roberts, is it your wish both to be relevé?

Alderney Representative Roberts: May I be relevé, sir, please?

The Bailiff: Thank you.

Deputy Dudley-Owen: Yes, please, sir.

The Bailiff: You are both marked as present now. Deputy Aldwell.

Deputy Aldwell: Thank you, sir.

On entering the States I knew very few Deputies, though I had met Deputy Brouard, Deputy de Lisle and Deputy Dudley-Owen as they attended Torteval Douzaine on a monthly rotation to speak on the Billets before 2018 and I had contacted, pre-election, for coffee Deputy Le Tocq, Deputy Dudley-Owen, Deputy Inder and the former Deputy Lowe and I was grateful for the time they gave to explain of their experiences; very different people, very different experiences.

Having met Deputy Le Tocq for coffee Deputy Ferbrache, Deputy Helyar and Deputy Mahoney, I had first met at hustings and Deputy Soulsby not until I entered the States. And so on entering the States I was very much an independent.

Many have said the States are split but, like Deputy Kazantseva-Miller, I have been fortunate to work across the States, first on the P&R Government Work Plan Sub-Committee with Deputy Soulsby, also on the Children's Law with Deputy Le Tocq and the Douzaine Group for P&R Sub-Committee with Deputy Soulsby and later Deputy Murray; various sub-committees across the States with Members of P&R along with other colleagues. All Deputies have worked together really well.

Deputy Ferbrache said right from the get go that his door was always open and on several occasions I have emailed him when I had a question and he has always come back promptly. I had a great deal of respect how he led us through the second COVID lockdown and I remember, even when he was hit hard by COVID, he continued to work through. Deputy Le Tocq I know works extremely hard in External Affairs and is well respected and he has a broad knowledge and understanding which shone through when I worked with him on the Children's Law panel a year ago.

Having worked with Deputy Soulsby on two sub-committees, I know how especially passionate she was on the Government Work Plan. Deputy Murray puts Guernsey at the heart of everything he does and I know he took not a week off for the first two years. He worked incredibly hard and always sees the big picture. He has taken on the Government Work Plan with gusto. He was an excellent hard working team player on ESC and I know he is a great asset to P&R.

Deputy Helyar is a highly thought of advocate, a Guernseyman who also truly has Guernsey at the heart of everything he does and in his calm, good humoured way he has thrown himself into his role, he has worked extremely hard for this Island and has built up an excellent relationship with Alderney and Sark, faced the financial problems head on and not shied away. For which I thank him.

Deputy Mahoney has had one of the hardest jobs in the States, not only has he sorted out the mess of the property portfolio, he has been the lead dealing with 14 unions on pay negotiations and that job is a difficult task. But I have to mention that when we had a presentation at the Hospital we were asked by the nurses to thank Deputy Mahoney for the way that he had conducted the negotiations.

With the huge problems of school maintenance neglected and neglect on our Education estate Deputy Mahoney visited each site to understand those problems and took control to move the projects forward, which we were extremely grateful for, as he has found on taking up our seats in the ESC that the school estate maintenance was extremely neglected. Deputy Mahoney has done a great job. Deputy Mahoney also gives a great deal back of his time to the local sport. He has never courted social media for the photo opportunity such as the Island Games as some Deputies, but week in, week out, our Deputy Mahoney quietly in all weathers is a rugby referee.

Also, I was extremely disappointed in the resignations of both Deputy Helyar and Deputy Mahoney and I need to give praise where praise is due. Deputy Mahoney and Deputy Helyar set up a charity in March 2020, The Friends of Ukraine EOD. The charity has worked very hard to support essential bomb clearance in Ukraine since the early days of the conflict. Essential work which paves the way for Ukraine returning to normality as quickly as possible once the aggression has stopped.

Deputy Helyar has been hugely beneficial and pro bono services he has bought have catapulted the charity into action and has meant that funds raised have been used directly to benefit the cause. They have given back to their community in their roles, but through this they have also demonstrated their hearts are firmly in the right place using their professional skills and knowledge.

We have worked across Committee and Home affairs, with the P&R on Moneyval over the past few months and they have come along on the journey. They are always supportive and fully

informed on this very technical part of our Home Affairs mandate. Each one has been approachable and any question on any subject posed by telephone or email has been answered.

There have been a few comments on forceful tones in meetings and in the heat of the moment raised voices do occur as expressed by Alderney Representative Roberts; as he stated, we are only human. I have attended Presidents to Presidents meetings where voices have been raised but not by Members of P&R but when a Member persisted in speaking over another Member while they were talking, voices were raised in response.

But I agree with Deputy Le Tocq when he said people do tend to get offended at the drop of a hat these days. Sadly, Twitter was used to throw grievances around rather than having a conversation face to face or by telephone to clear a perceived situation which could have cleared the air.

This Assembly has, in my opinion, been very much about politicking. This Assembly should be called the colander, so many continuous emails leaked (*Laughter*) or documents and confidentialities broken and it has been a disappointing disappointment. And as an example, a document watermarked 'confidential', titled 'confidential for Deputies only, do not share' was sent in an email to all Deputies at 10 p.m. and by the next morning it was on the front page of the *Press* before I had even read the original email.

Sir, P&R have been forward thinking. So much more could have been achieved if it had not been blocked at every turn and I feel we have certainly let down our young people, our Island's future. Unfortunately, I think the scene may have been set when the seating plan was set for two parties facing each other across the floor of this Assembly, which was never going to bode. (**Several Members:** Hear, hear.)

It is fair to say that there have been opinion columnists whipping up negative social media from inside and outside of the States, very little fact, very much personal opinion. But through that nonsense, the constant has been the strength of P&R, a very capable team, I hold each one in high regard, they have been a strong Committee, worked tirelessly, not afraid to put their heads above the parapet and deal with the top decisions; always wanting the best for Guernsey in all that they do. Sir, I may have lost faith in some of my colleagues, but I have never lost faith in P&R.

Thank you.

The Bailiff: Deputy Soulsby.

Deputy Soulsby: Sir, Members may be aware of a new film that has just been released about the French Emperor and military commander, *Napoleon Bonaparte*. At two hours 38 minutes it is a long film with one critic saying that it makes it longer than Napoleon's coronation in Paris. Indeed, some have said how they have been put off going to see it because at the time required to sit in a seat without a break.

Now, we have already been debating this motion for more than triple that time, sat in not the most comfortable of seats. Like the story of Napoleon's life we have heard about victories and defeats, love and hate, friendships and rivalries. Of course, the difference between the motion picture and this debate is we know what happened to old Bony, there is little suspense, but we do not yet know whether P&R will have met their Waterloo.

Now, I do not want to waste Members' time, so I will get straight to the heart of the matter. It is obvious to me that the key issues in all this are behaviour and leadership. It must have become increasingly apparent to those listening to speakers such as Deputy Gabriel, Deputy Vermeulen, Deputy Roffey and, most powerfully, Deputy de Sausmarez that unacceptable behaviours in various forms have occurred over the last three years. That may have been news to some, but it is not to me. Some I have witnessed directly, some I have been made aware of by those both inside and outside the States.

Deputy Ferbrache said he could not remember Deputy de Sausmarez approaching him about such poor behaviours. But Deputy de Sausmarez was not the only one to do this; I did the same thing. Indeed, during one meeting where the P&R President was a Chair, I had to tell certain

Members that their aggressive behaviour towards Deputy de Sausmarez was completely inappropriate.

675 Now, I do wonder whether the reason senior Deputies do not recognise this behaviour is because they think it is perfectly fine. Now I am no shrinking violet and neither is Deputy de Sausmarez but what I witnessed was anything but perfectly fine and that is by no means an isolated example.

680 We hear things have always been like this, this is just the rough and tumble of politics, well I cannot recall anything quite like it in the 11 years I have been a Deputy. To me it is bullying, abusive, coercive behaviour that is repeated and habitual. Some are saying, 'well, nobody brought a Code of Conduct so it cannot have been that bad'.

685 But there are many reasons why bringing a Code of Conduct would have been difficult. The system is not designed for repeated habitual patterns of behaviour any one instance of which, if it were the only one, would likely be excused as perhaps someone just having a bad day. And I have a personal difficulty with using the Code for Deputy on Deputy complaints if it can be avoided. Such complaints ought to be dealt with between us.

690 The very formal process of blue on blue only serves to bring the Assembly into disrepute with the public just saying that we cannot get our own house in order and wondering if so, how on earth we can manage the Island. Now, when I complained to Deputy Ferbrache, as Chair and President of P&R, my expectation was that it would address the matter and he would call out future manifestations when they occurred. But that did not happen and let us face it; it is next to impossible for Civil Servants to use the Code against Deputies due to the power imbalance.

695 So just to respond to Deputy Queripel who did say he wanted evidence, an absence of Code of Conduct complaints is in no way indicative of an absence of the problem. But if more evidence is needed, I have been advised that internal policies have now been strengthened and publicised, including making sure senior officers do speak up when they see behaviour that crosses the line and that any officer has been poorly treated, had senior leadership team level support. This has already taken effect in the form of a written apology to an officer from a politician for a particular incident and I believe there is one other currently in existence. But both the politicians and incidents have not been disclosed to me, by the way, and I do not need to know, but I am pleased it is a start and it is evidence.

700 Now, three weeks ago Deputy Inder said politics can be a bit brutal. Well, yes it can be, if you find you are not re-elected at the next election, the flagship policy letter you are fronting fails, if you have a motion of no confidence against you. However, that does not mean it is acceptable to treat others with disrespect and for me, at the core of all this is respect. It underpins our consensus system of Government. Indeed, our Code of Conduct says that 'Members shall at all times treat other Members, civil servants and members of the public with respect and courtesy and without malice, notwithstanding the disagreements on issues and policy', which are a normal part of the political process.

710 Our political system based on consensus, is often blamed for why things do not get done quickly or do not get done at all. And it is claimed that what we need is an executive system that gives those at the top the power they need. (*Interjection*) But any system is only as good as the people in it. (**Several Members:** Hear, hear.)

715 So now I come to leadership and although Deputy Ferbrache is the President of this Committee, to be clear, I am talking about leadership from the Committee as a unified whole. Leadership means taking people with you. You are not a leader just because you have the title. You must work with people, whether you like them or not, to get things done. You do not ignore them or work against them and you do not make personal snipes at them in public. (**A Member:** Hear, hear.)

720 Leadership is one of the seven principles of public life along with selflessness, honesty, integrity, objectivity, accountability and openness and it requires, amongst other things, to actively promote and robustly support those principles and challenge poor behaviour. That is what I want from the senior Committee and whoever ends up in that position after all this, I want them to commit to dealing with it. That 'lead by example'. Where there are no meetings with interested parties without officers present, where decisions are not made without formal papers or at informal meetings which

officers are then required to action. A Committee with Members that understand that being a designated lead does not give one delegated ministerial powers but obliges one to keep the Committee informed and involved.

Now, I do not want to dwell unduly on what seems to have been the longest political feud in Guernsey's history but I thought I should respond to a point made by Deputy Ferbrache in his long speech in response to one made by Deputy St Pier and that is around publicly threatening, in this Assembly, to sue two students for defamation because they submitted a Code of Conduct complaint.

Now, it might be something one would expect from a litigation lawyer, but I think it is rather unseemly behaviour for a Chief Minister. It does not begin to compare, as Deputy Ferbrache sought to do, to an individual Deputy sending a private email to another Deputy, threatening legal action, however advisable or otherwise that might have been.

Sir, some Members have told me that the problem with the senior Committee stems from having newly elected Members on it. Whether or not that is the case, it is not the primary issue. The issue is, seemingly, not understanding that the most important part of being on Policy & Resources is working collegiately across all Committees. (**A Member:** Hear, hear.) There should not be favouritism towards one Committee or another; we are all in it together. We are all the Government.

For me, this motion of no confidence is not about the lack of intelligence of any of the Members of the Committee. I have worked with all of them and know they are clever people and I know they have taken their roles seriously. However, for Government to work that is not enough it needs emotional intelligence and that is what has been sadly lacking.

Now back to Napoleon. We all know what happened to him at the Battle of Waterloo. The former emperor ended his days banished to the small island of Saint Helena in the middle of the Atlantic, slowly dying from his arsenic laden wallpaper. But what became of his nemesis, Arthur Wellesley, the Duke of Wellington?

Well he was appointed Prime Minister in 1928 and again briefly in 1934. Did not get off to a great start, he said after his first cabinet meeting, 'An extraordinary affair, I gave them their orders and they wanted to stay and discuss them'. (*Laughter*) Indeed, he himself did not think he was well suited to it and at one point ended up being so unpopular that crowds gathered to throw missiles at his London residence. Whilst undoubtedly one of the greatest military commanders in history, records indeed show the Iron Duke was probably not the most successful Prime Minister.

Sir, I have much respect for Deputy Ferbrache. We did work particularly closely during COVID and we have continued to meet over a cup of tea since I left the Committee. I believe he is an honourable man and I respect the way he pushed forward the tax proposals even though we were on opposing sides. He was also respectful of the position I took at the time. Quite rightly, he said, that I needed to come up with an alternative, which I did, of course.

I also have the utmost respect for Deputy Murray and Deputy Le Tocq. This is not personal. But it is about a new mandate, too much has happened or not happened, too much is at stake to continue as we are. And the belief that the remaining Members need to stay in post because of all the things down the track are misguided.

I was listening to a podcast the other day where Sir Charles Walker MP, he a lifelong loyal backbench Tory politician famous for expressing his frustration at the brief Liz Truss premiership, said that any Government only has a lease hold on power, not a freehold. (**A Member:** Hear, hear.) Let us face it we held a general election in the middle of a pandemic. But if Members do believe that, they can always vote those Members back on the Committee, of course, and if this motion succeeds, I would very much wish that all those remaining Members do stand for the vacant seats.

And, so Waterloo was won by a coalition of forces led not just by Wellington but the Prussian Field Marshall Blücher. His family, some may be aware, had links to the Bailiwick. They met in the evening after the battle and Blücher, whose English was non-existent and French not much better, exclaimed to Wellington, 'Killoffer, mein lieber Kamerad!' And that is what I felt about the last few weeks and months. Killoffer; what a nightmare! And just like Waterloo, this bloody battle needs to come to an end. (**A Member:** Hear, hear.)

Things cannot continue as they are. We need a new start, a new direction, a new beginning that will enable us to recalibrate, re-evaluate and refocus on our community. And this is my final appeal to all Members; please, please, can we remember why we are here, it is not for political machinations but for the people who elected us.

780 Think of that before you vote and say to yourself, what should we do for those who need us, who depend on us to make the right decisions on their behalf? This debate seems important to us. But you know what? To the care worker who cannot make ends meet, to the mother who has to go to the food bank to feed her children and to our adult children who cannot afford to leave home, let alone find anywhere to make a home, it really is a self-indulgent, meaningless debate.

785 I say this now, we need a reinvigorated Committee that can say to them 'we have your back'. That is what drives me and that is why I say we cannot go on like this. I have had enough of the self-indulgent bickering that has plagued this term. It is not why I went into politics. We all need to say to ourselves, 'What are we here for?' For me, it is the people of Guernsey. It has been and always will be and that is why I will support the motion. By doing so, I believe it will enable the Committee's successor to obtain a new mandate from this Assembly and one which we can all finally get behind for the final 18 months of this term and focus where we should all be focused on the people we all represent the people of Guernsey.

Several Members: Hear, hear!

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A Member: Well done. (*Applause*)

The Bailiff: Deputy McKenna.

800 **Deputy McKenna:** Thank you, sir.

So irritable, aggressive, consistently unhinged; that is enough about me. (*Laughter*) Back in 2020, on the maiden speech, I said we had a left States, a right States, a divided States, I said we need a united States. It fell on deaf ears.

805 What I did witness a couple of weeks ago was I thought what I saw with Deputy Ferbrache was phenomenal. For five hours, the man, it reminded me of back in the days of Zaire with an ageing Muhammad Ali against George Foreman. Deputy Ferbrache took those punches, those political punches, for five hours. (**A Member:** Hear, hear.) Isolated, he took those for five hours and at the end of it he came back off the ropes and he came out swinging for an hour.

810 I know it did not go down well with a lot of people but it certainly went down well with me and my admiration for you. And I said back in 2020, you are the greatest litigating lawyer in history and I stand by that, and what you did that day, you were isolated and you took everything that was thrown at you and you came back and my full admiration, if it means anything.

815 But the wolf is only as strong as the pack. There is an old boxing term, 'Not everybody you fight is your enemy and not everybody in your corner is your friend'. And I was horrified when I read on the front of the *Press* that my friend Deputy Roffey, who has got a 40-year stellar political career, was being investigated by Deputy Helyar and Deputy Mahoney – the most unjust thing I had ever heard.

820 So what I did expect at the time would be that Deputy Helyar and Deputy Mahoney would just stand up and clarify the position and say it was all wrong, but it was there in the *Press*, and I have heard nothing to the contrary since. Deputy Soulsby has taken away about 90% with what I thought was a phenomenal speech.

825 I sit on the Reshaping of Government Committee and it had gone on for about a year, we had Deputy Soulsby before that and then Deputy Murray took place with Deputy Le Tocq. Now, on this particular occasion, which was quite recent, I received a 70-page document electronically on, say the Monday, we had the meeting on the Wednesday and I had made post-it notes on the document. When we got there on the Wednesday, I was told that that document had been superseded and there was a new document and I could read it off the projector. But it did not correspond with the

document that I had received on the Monday. So I said two words; this is a hijacking and this is an ambush.

830 I packed up my stuff and I went to Home Affairs, which I serve under the President Deputy Prow, and we came to the Royal Court for the swearing in of the Police Members of the day. That was my words. When I went back to the States' Assembly and Constitution Committee I explained to Deputy Fairclough, Deputy Queripel and Deputy Gollop of the experience I had on that day.

835 The document we had received only 48 hours before had been completely superseded and what had been inserted was nothing, nothing that I had agreed on –
I give way.

Deputy Le Tocq: I thank Deputy McKenna for giving way.

840 What he is describing I do remember, but differently to him. There was the document that we had received some days before, had been in circulation actually for some time and had been a document which was coming to fruition. The main officer involved had done some finalisation to that document since we had received it. That was not the first time that it had happened in that way, and that is why we wanted to work from the latest iteration of that document.

845 There were no substantive changes only changes to paragraph numbers, which I realise did make it difficult for people to go through. But this was a Committee sub-committee that was always difficult for us to find the right times to meet. There was no hijacking of any agenda. I myself had not seen it until that being the case. We were able to work through that agenda it just took a little longer because the changes meant that some of the paragraphs had moved around.

Thank you.

850 **Deputy Meerveld:** I thank Deputy McKenna for giving way.

I can confirm Deputy McKenna's reading of this. It was actually the second of two meetings to consider, after extended break, after Deputy Heidi Soulsby resigned from P&R and was replaced on the working group. There were two meetings. The previous we received the draft of supposedly the proposals that the working group had been working up after having been with officers for some months and it was given to us the day before we met; a 70-odd page document. It contained elements in there that had never been discussed by the working group, were now being presented as fact to be taken forward.

860 At that meeting, I said, there is no way we can do this. We read in the comments we had had within the limited time period and it was agreed we would form another meeting to discuss the proposals and finalise them. At that meeting, as Deputy McKenna said, we were supplied with the document, 70 pages, three days before the meeting this time, like he had highlighted and annotated that document extensively.

865 On the day we are told that has now been replaced by something nobody has seen, it will be displayed on the screen and we will go through it page by page and approve it. Again, it contained things that had never been discussed in the working group, had been inserted in there by whatever method, I do not know, but it was a very much indicative of, I am afraid, the broader way that this Policy & Resources Committee has operated, in that they seem to try and bulldoze through whatever they want.

870 And again, I agree with Deputy McKenna's assessment there was a hijacking, SACC has been briefed as the partner Committee in this, that this is the feeling we have had, that this has been taken down a road where the working group has been undermined and usurped and redirected. Anyway, I will hand back to Deputy McKenna but I can confirm exactly what he is saying.

Thank you.

875 **Deputy McKenna:** I give way to Deputy Oliver.

Deputy Oliver: Thank you, Deputy McKenna.

880 Can I just ask, was it P&R that changed the document, or do you think it was the officers that changed the document?

Deputy McKenna: As I say, I am there as a Member of the SAC Committee. I can only read or understand what I am given and I am not going to go through what I said before because Deputy Meerveld confirmed that –
885 I give way.

Deputy Le Tocq: Sir, I just do not see the relevance of this. The document is still in play, it is a sub-committee, P&R have not seen it, it is only Deputy Murray and myself. I am actually waiting for comments from the other two Members, that are actually Deputy McKenna and Deputy Meerveld, so I do not really actually think the comments are relevant anyway.
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Deputy McKenna: Okay. See how we can manipulate and how words can be changed, because actually we have been told that the Committee will not meet again and any future correspondence will be done through email. I am happy to give way.
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Deputy Le Tocq: Well, that is the case because that was agreed at that meeting by all those present. If we want to have a meeting to do that and they are as aggrieved as they seem to be now, that is news to me and the minutes will back that up. But that was not the case. We can certainly meet, but my point remains, the particular document has not been, it is a report to go to P&R that has not been taken to P&R because we have not agreed it yet.
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Deputy McKenna: Okay. Again, bending the words because the document has not been agreed because I and Deputy Meerveld will not agree it and we will bring a minority report and this is where I go back to the one thing I said at the start. The strength of the wolf is the pack. Now, I will be done in a minute.
905

Leadership, I invited a military man about a year ago to the boxing at Beau Séjour, when the RAF were there, and this gentleman shook hands with all the Guernsey boxers, all the RAF boxers, he shook hands with everybody on his table, with the waiters, the waitresses, the security staff and was going around and shaking hands with the spectators. (*Laughter*) This gentleman was a Companion of The Order of the Bath, a Companion of the Order of St John, Commander of the British Empire. A stellar military career where he served in Northern Ireland, Kosovo, the Balkans, Afghanistan and Iraq and was a former Commander of NATO's land forces. The gentleman sits here today, General Cripwell, and what he did was he empowered everybody in that room to feel credible and have belief that they could be the best that they could be. And the only thing and I have thought long and hard, what could I ever possibly say to someone like General Cripwell other than so you were born to lead?
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I have no political leadership, I possess none of those skills, however, I was Captain of the Irish International Team 52 times and my job was to empower the people around my team that let them be the best that they could be. For them to believe and give them the courage they could win. Now, when it came to the GST debate I seem to get hit over the head because we had the march where Corinne Le Page, the leader of the Guernsey retail group, said there was over 4,416 on the foot track at the Market Square and there was plenty leading down there. There was thousands, thousands and I said then, on behalf of the people of Guernsey, let P&R do their worst and we will do our best.
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Then the DJ played that *Sweet Caroline* and we all sang it. I tell you what, Deputy Parkinson, to my left, Deputy Meerveld to my right; those big Dutch shoulders of Deputy Vermeulen saying go on son. Deputy Dyke, Deputy Le Tissier, Deputy Queripel, I make no apologies for that we were told we had no courage. Well, to me, we stood up and were counted that day. We stood up and were counted. (**A Member:** Hear, hear.)
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930 So, I finished with the strength of the wolf, the greatest litigator in history, but the strength of the wolf is the pack. Deputy Helyar and Deputy Mahoney calling for an investigation on Deputy Roffey and Deputy Ferbrache, I would love to hear what the outcome of that is.

Deputy Helyar: Point of correction, sir.

935 **Deputy McKenna:** Go ahead.

The Bailiff: Point of correction, Deputy Helyar.

940 **Deputy Helyar:** I circulated an email from the Chief Executive to all States' Members prior to the last debate, which indicated that he has no standing to do so and that no States' Members had been investigated. That is the truth. What Deputy McKenna is saying is incorrect and misleading.

945 **Deputy McKenna:** Well, you see, this is why I admire the Chief Minister so much because just before the GST debate, again it was maybe poor on my behalf, I waited to near the end to come in and there was one man standing waiting for me and it was the Chief Minister, Deputy Ferbrache, and he said I do not want to fall out over this. We have known each other for 45 years. I have always said we have been friends for two years, we have known each other for 45. (*Laughter*) But he waited for me and he said let me shake your hand and my words to him were, I am not shaking your hand but I will give you a hug. (*Laughter*)

950 I have seen Deputy Ferbrache, in fact it was only a few days ago we were standing in the High Street and everybody was saying hello to him and nobody was saying hello to me; so it just shows you and anyone who does see me always says it is a shame you did not get into the States because I voted for you. (*Laughter*) But there you go, but everybody knew the Chief Minister. So again, my full admiration to the Chief Minister but the strength of the wolf is the pack and as I say, Captain of the Irish National team for 52 times, I would not have picked the four you have got.

The Bailiff: Deputy Blin.

Deputy Blin: Thank you, sir.

960 First of all, well I am standing here now that we have one of the hardest decisions, I know in my case, with this motion of no confidence in play. I think the starting point is I have heard a few things, just the last few speeches and the previous two dozen last month where we are starting to display our dirty laundry or wash our laundry in public and I am really unhappy about that because a lot of things happen behind closed doors in any meeting and that is for a different reason. We do not have to start naming and shaming all the parts there. So this is not what it is about.

965 So, I think the first thing I would like to start off by saying is my view on the current P&R. I think each Member, the dedication and the efforts are outstanding and I am just going to sort of, as we are reaching the point in motion, if I sort of start off with Deputy Bob Murray where he sort of parachuted in halfway through, but when he started, remember, he was like many of us are totally new to the States there and he has been strategic in his thinking, he has been effective, he has worked with others, he has tried to do all the parts he can.

970 I will then talk briefly about Deputy Mahoney and Deputy Helyar, they seem sort of matched to come in pairs on this. Deputy Mahoney, I have heard the bad stuff how aggressive, etc. he is, but I can tell you now, and I think Deputy Aldwell referred to it, is also the way that actually he has been instrumental with union discussions with really hard calling tough decisions. We know we admire people for that, but then if it goes to the other side it gets a bit harder.

975 Deputy Helyar, you know going back many years knowing him I would say probably one of the finest minds and intellectual and I take the points about the IQs and EQs but it is high at all levels. Deputy Le Tocq, and I know I have said this to him in the past, he is one of the Deputies I have admired not only for his political abilities but also his faith, his diplomacy and the good work he

does and hopefully he will continue to do in the role of External Affairs. Although I do hope he would mentor others in that because he has got a lot on his plate.

985 Then I come to Deputy Ferbrache, who I regard as also one of the most intelligent, not only and I am sure he is bored of saying the best litigators and everything, but a lawyer, businessman, family person. He has been very kind in many situations and I have 100% trust in him, I believe everything that I have dealt with and the whole time I have been sitting in this Assembly there is not one point where I can actually deny in honesty or integrity with Deputy Ferbrache.

990 So I have started on that point because this is, and I could probably do this with most Members of this Assembly but this motion of no confidence was brought, was laid by a group of Deputies and it is here. So when you spend weeks and hours with the public, with fellow States' Members, with individuals going through it, with the public to see what the reaction is; what is it really about? What is going to change here?

995 The feeling I get is that this is not about any of the individuals. The way I have just spoken about every single individual is very honest and real. But it is not about every individual, it is about the whole, it is the collective and it is the impact it has had on the Assembly. Everyone here has their own way of looking at it. We have heard various topics of reasons why, maybe it is on the leadership or the way they have treated others and I have seen quite a lot of that there. So I will through you, sir, I am going to explain to you, in my personal case, what one of the reasons is and this is a conversation I have held with, Deputy Ferbrache

1000 One of the things, as we may be aware, is that P&R formed a sub-committee for the project on the exploration of the wind farm opportunity. That was led by Deputy Meerveld, myself, a few Members of P&R and officers and as we all know as it came up to the time of the GST things got a bit, let us say, messy in the sense that there was a confusion, a blurred line between the wind farm and the GST. That eventually finished with the Chair of the Committee leaving. Now, even then, I used the term leaving because he was removed, resigned, it was a complex story, but I am just going to come down to the point, that was gone.

1010 I had the opportunity to Chair the meeting from there, there was an attempt, obviously, to try to get Deputy Meerveld to come back but in the long-term it continued on with myself chairing without Deputy Meerveld, but still trying to do it now at that point also, and this is again at a very critical point and it was not that long ago, Deputy Ferbrache agreed that he would actually sit on the Committee. Deputy Mahoney and Deputy Helyar, therefore, were replaced by Deputy Ferbrache.

1015 Now, we did have one meeting there talking to the developers or one of the developers and moving on. Now, that was a very, very positive step because it actually had the Chief Minister giving it his support. So again, so far all continues in that sense, but what we are getting to now, and this is my hardest part, is that I personally believe that for this to continue, and there was originally planned, we need to be engaging with other Committees and that would include Economic Development, that would include Environmental & Infrastructure and, in my opinion, should also include maybe an additional Member and I would like to see the opportunity of Deputy Meerveld back in there so that we can have that drive and we did have constructive meetings in development.

1020 Now I am saying all these and this is on my wish list but the painful part for me or an aspect which has really changed my ability to support the current P&R, as a collective as I say not as individuals, is during the previous debate, Assembly or before I had laid but not published an amendment about the Alderney runway and this created an upset by P&R or part of P&R and this led to a series of messages. Now, although that was not published and it was explained there were sensitivities with the tender process, etc., I did withdraw it, but it was ensued with the various, or before I withdrew it let us say, there were a number of very strong messages from a Member.

1030 Now if the Assembly will accept my explanation like this and P&R as well, I do not wish to read or refer to or anything like that because that is something that is done on it. But the essence of it was if I continued in this line of something, it has been discussed to remove me from the Chair of the Wind Farm Committee. Now, the honest truth at that point is, one, I did not wish to get into a fight or into a match of responses there, so I did just write two P&R as a whole at the end on the basis that if any continuation of this should be separate.

1035 So, sir, through you and I hope that the understanding by some of the Members of the Assembly that it is therefore taken away in spite of the support of Deputy Ferbrache on the Committee, it has taken away any real feel of the ability I would have to continue or for the project to get to the fullest fruition (*Interjection*) and I appreciate it is a rather personal singular, not personal as in personality, but a singular reason so that is why, in my case, I struggle.

1040 But if I now take it to how the conversations I have had with members of the public and we all have a good series of advisers and contacts around us and people we speak to. So what I would also like to say, and it pains me to say it, this motion is about collective will. It is not a target on bringing down individuals, it is about doing something respectfully, it is democracy to do it. The vote will come out on a democratic challenge to this and I can also assure that whatever the conclusion –

1045 I will give way to, Deputy Queripel.

Deputy Queripel: I thank Deputy Blin for giving way.

1050 Can he clarify please, that he has copies of those email exchanges between P&R and himself even though he is not prepared to read them out here? Can he clarify he has copies of those and will he be prepared to share them with colleagues?

Deputy Blin: I thank Deputy Queripel.

1055 So there was an exchange of messages but what I did is I did a collective message with all the messages into one email. It was received by Members of P&R, so in response to Deputy Queripel, and I appreciate the manner and the reason he is asking, so yes I do have the emails, I would possibly consider sharing sight but I do not wish to enter into, I do not know what the time is but, showing these messages.

1060 But they were strong, they were pertinent but in my case I did try to respect the Rules of the Assembly of engagement and just ask that, I did not wish to respond and I would not talk to anyone talking to me in a certain tone and a certain language. I hope that that answers the question from Deputy Queripel.

1065 So, just before I gave way to Deputy Queripel, I am just feeling that everyone more or less, I think, will have made their, their decision. This is an opportunity for a reset and to align. I know that if the motion is or were to be successful I will do my best to work with the new elected P&R, and hopefully some Members of the P&R will have come from the existing P&R, others will come there. There will have to be a true consensus.

1070 If the motion of no confidence does not succeed I hope that we do not have a *status quo* and a fixed set of action here. So this, as I say, will be for if this is successful, let us take it as for collaboration, for consensus, for drive forward for the last 18 or so months and I urge all of us that this is not meant to be an act of hostility, at least in my case and I am sure for many others, but more for us to try to work together going forward.

Thank you, sir.

The Bailiff: Deputy Helyar.

1075 **Deputy Helyar:** Thank you, sir.

1080 So I would like to point out that my own resignation was first tendered to P&R some nine months ago in March of this year, although it is fair to say it has crossed my mind on many occasions prior to that. I was eventually persuaded by my colleagues to stay on because of other important work which I had been undertaking in this role, including the creation of the States' Investment Board, the Bailiwick Council and working on building the foundations of a new Constitutional Settlement for the Bailiwick. It was also my intention to step down after the motion of no confidence debate in any event, the reason being that this Assembly is deadlocked. It cannot move forwards or backwards and my repeated Cassandra like warnings about the perilous nature of our long-term finances continue to fall on deaf ears.

1085 I could and can see no point in continuing in a role which bears such a heavy burden of work
load and responsibility, together with never ending personal and media abuse, without any means
of altering the outcomes. Were it not for the fact that a by-election would waste several hundred
thousand pounds I would have already left the States entirely. I wish my successor luck, because I
1090 know only too well how much they are going to need it and how soon. I am also happy to continue
to help in those areas where there remains important unfinished work in relation to Sark and
Alderney if, of course, invited to do so. (**A Member:** Hear, hear.)

Deputy Parkinson spoke of several issues where he considered the Committee had fallen short.
The first was the Harbours Project. I am afraid what Deputy Parkinson failed to mention, or indeed
to notice at the time, was that there was already widespread concern about our finances when that
1095 incongruous policy letter, which was not streamed into the Government Work Plan prioritisation
process, was issued.

So the headline 'States to spend £350 million on new harbour' was completely out of step with
sentiment on our finances and never likely to win support. (**A Member:** Hear, hear.) The policy letter
was therefore dead on arrival. (**A Member:** Hear, hear.) Taking such an unlikely line was an STSB
1100 responsibility and choice, not a P&R one.

I actually favour moving the harbour, if it is technically feasible, but we are not going to know
for several years. What the policy letter should have said was that there are options, but we do not
know which one works until we have done the geological and tidal survey, so please can we have
some money purely for the research. Not have a media presentation with a £350 million strap line.

1105 But of course P&R can only make suggestions it has no powers to alter other Committees' policy
letters. On the other hand, both STSB and P&R and officers worked together seamlessly to develop
and refine the Alderney runway plans without rancour. So Deputy Parkinson's point is neither
accurate nor representative of our overall relationships.

If certain Committees refuse to co-operate or Members break the rules, Rule 4 is an excellent
1110 example; there is very little which P&R can do about it. Deputy Parkinson also spoke of interactions
with Guernsey Water and in relation to waste. The reality behind the issue is that if P&R had its way
we would have already purchased Les Vardes Quarry and would be filling it with inert waste today
(**A Member:** Hear, hear.) with a third party running the show and paying the States £6 per tonne,
and rising, for the next 60 years, saving significant amounts in manpower and costs for the public
1115 purse. (*Interjection*)

Even half filling the space for 30 years would leave a potentially huge water reservoir far in excess
of our likely needs. The decision to stockpile waste is not a P&R one. It is, in my view, simply because
STSB is determined to reclaim land on the east coast by dumping in the sea as part of a wider as
yet unannounced plan, including recent noises off about moving the power station to Longue
1120 Hougue.

Deputy Roffey: Point of correction.

The Bailiff: Point of correction, Deputy Roffey.

1125 **Deputy Roffey:** The STSB handles the waste. We have no role whatsoever in deciding where the
inert waste should go. That is a policy matter outside our remit and we will put it wherever the
States instruct us to put it.

1130 **The Bailiff:** Continue.

Deputy Helyar: Thank you, sir.

There were, as I said, in recent noises off about moving the power station to Longue Hougue.
None of which, coincidentally, we can currently possibly hope to afford, along with many other
1135 projects. We simply politely disagree on these outcomes and many others. That is a normal part of
the political process. It is certainly not any justification for dismissal of P&R.

I worked as a civil servant at the Water Board for several years and actually prepared the water storage statistics and I am familiar with the cost of equipment and the structure and the operation of raw and treated mains and reservoirs. The off-the-cuff costs presented in the meeting mentioned by Deputy Parkinson in relation to the conversion of Les Vardes to a water storage facility, were simply not worked through or credible.

I consider it my absolute duty to try and ensure the public get good value for their money and I make no apology for questioning the veracity of a figure which, in my view, was self-evidently unjustified. We are still waiting, two years on, for any sign of the justification for needing significantly more raw water storage than Jersey, with a population twice our size. (**Several Members:** Hear, hear.)

In the meantime, every tonne of inert waste being stockpiled will cost the taxpayer more in the longer term, but that decision to stockpile was not a P&R one and it was the Assembly itself which recently agreed not to fund the Inert Waste Project as part of the finance and investment plan; not PNR.

There is also no reasonable prospect of the money ever being available to follow the plan through given the continuing impasse we have on revenue funding. Our preferred option would have been to see the dumping of waste actually cut manpower costs and raise funds rather than cost the public money (**A Member:** Hear, hear.) and, in my view, it still remains the better plan rather than destroying valuable marine wildlife habitat. (**Several Members:** Hear, hear.) But we disagree. So the only thing here that P&R can reasonably be criticised for is trying to save money. Well, if saving money is a genuine cause for complaint then we really are in trouble.

Deputy Parkinson also referred to the tax review. The recommendations in the tax review were developed in conjunction with a very wide range of representative groups, experts and politicians and they included Deputy Roffey, who is a senior Member of the States and obviously not a P&R Member. Well, not yet anyway. (**A Member:** Hear, hear.)

And whatever Members views or motivations GST still remains the only credible heavy lifting option which will not directly harm our competitive position from an economic perspective or set us into that spiral of decline which I feared before the election and which I am now afraid to say seems all but inevitable.

All other avenues including eating the rich and raising Income Tax rates have been rejected even more strongly. All we have done, as an Assembly, by delaying GST's inevitable inception is to make our infrastructure and services worse and make essential projects ultimately more expensive, whilst at the same time damaging sentiment in the viability of the Island's economy and the confidence which business needs to be reassured that this Assembly can govern effectively.

The comments about the OECD tax proposals, which I have been responsible for personally, were also well off the mark. These corporate tax proposals have always been part of the assumptions for raising revenues in our plans going back three years, which would clearly have provided the income for borrowing to protect our reserves, including completion of the TEP. Alas, that is now water under a distant bridge.

Once again though, it does not stand even cursory inspection as evidence of P&R's inability to fulfil its mandate. It is nothing more than a difference of opinion. Where P&R's settled position was based on expert advice, wide consultation and extensive work, and the contrary opinion was not.

During my three-year term, I have chaired and attended over a thousand meetings, summits and presentations with a wide variety of audiences from members of the public to First Ministers of Wales, Ireland and Scotland, several UK, Jersey and Isle of Man Ministers and Members of the Houses of Lords.

I have attended and occasionally chaired P&R, been responsible for the States' Investment Board, Bailiwick Council, Alderney and Sark Liaison Groups, Alderney Healthcare Board, Tax Steering Sub-Committee as well as attending Presidents Meetings, Wind Sub-Committee, Financial Services Forum, Moneyval Preparation Board, Scrutiny Hearings and many, many others too numerous to mention. Except for Deputy Parkinson's own quickly dismissed attempt to complain about me in revenge for me making it successful Code of Conduct complaint about his own behaviour, I have

not heard or received a single complaint about mine, or indeed anyone else's on P&R's behaviour during the past three years.

In fact quite the contrary, I have been contacted by many members of the public, senior civil servants and politicians both in Guernsey, Sark and Alderney, commending my own work and expressing their regret and disappointment that I felt I have had enough of being pilloried and therefore stepped away from my own role.

Rather than being criticised by the Civil Service, many senior officers have expressed relief at being able to deal with professional individuals able to absorb fine technical detail at pace, identify key issues and make decisions without dithering and seeking ever more expensive information, which inevitably reaches the same conclusions.

The Deputy Queripel asked for evidence at the outset of this debate. Put simply, there is none. We have heard nothing in this debate other than gossip, hindsight based criticism and non-specific innuendo, **(A Member: Hear, hear.)** or indeed heard anything outside the unpleasant, though it may be, rough and tumble of political life.

Sir, in my view, making generalised complaints in relation to behaviour in the Assembly is an abuse of process, a breach of natural justice and, in my view, a disgraceful way to obviously, deliberately and widely try to slur other Members' reputations. The subsequent media and pressure group witch hunt stirred up by these ill-judged comments is a perfect advert for why I would advise any successful local professional people, both male and female alike, to avoid local politics.

Sadly, at least half a dozen people who would have been a boon to the Assembly have said to me that they will never consider standing. Unspecified allegations are also, ironically, themselves, prime examples of bullying and if they were made in an employment setting, would constitute excellent grounds for claims for constructive dismissal. **(A Member: Hear, hear.)**

We, as Members and our civil servants, have a very clear process for making complaints, I know it well because I have been repeatedly bullied in the States and in the media and on social media, almost from the first moment after the election of the Chief Minister when Deputy Parkinson took to Twitter to call Members of the Guernsey party useful idiots; hardly a paradigm of respectful or professional conduct.

Then I brought a successful complaint against Deputy Parkinson for defaming me. But unlike others in this place, I complied fully with the rules and made no public media releases about it and I asked for leniency in the outcome. But other than some words which were apparently published on Twitter, I still have never received a direct or indeed any genuine apology. If we need to surmise the motivation for this motion, perhaps it starts there or perhaps at the moment Deputy Inder beat Deputy Parkinson to the Chair of Economic Development.

The allegation that P&R has in some way created a newly hostile culture within the States is obviously nonsense. I repeat again, there have been no complaints, whether from Members, civil servants or otherwise, about any Members of P&R, none whatsoever. And the real truth, which is well documented, is that the animosity exhibited between certain experienced Members clearly existed long before the last election occurred. I mentioned it directly when being considered for the election to P&R that I felt as if I had walked into a turf war. **(A Member: Hear, hear.)**

Having now spent three years in the Assembly it is unfortunately all too easy to identify the ongoing animosity between certain Members and this motion, in my opinion, is simply a direct extension of it. Many people, even Members themselves, do not understand our constitution and P&R is often imbued with mystical powers when it has almost none.

P&R certainly cannot make people like one another, behave well or indeed work together, but most importantly, it is absolutely not P&R's responsibility or mandate to police individual Members behaviour. The animosity between Members and the destructive behaviour it engenders is, therefore, not P&R's causing. It was already here when this P&R was elected and from what I hear was actually worse in the last States.

It is clearly nothing new and laying it at the door of this Committee is, in my view, plainly just nonsensical and I believe the public well knows it. As Deputy Soulsby is aware, I was in fact the only person at the beginning of this term to perhaps naively try to mediate between the warring factions

by encouraging a P&R of all the talents given that our Island faces such significant challenges, including suggesting Deputy Soulsby for the Chief Minister role. That olive branch was refused but it was a genuine attempt to try and build a collegiate approach.

Whatever Guernsey's urgent and immediate needs, the sad truth, in my view, is that there are some Members whose dislike of other Members transcends their duties to act as public representatives, or indeed, as we have seen in the course of debating this motion to follow due process. (**A Member:** Hear, hear.)

Now, I am not including Deputy Ferbrache in that far from my bruising experience of him in the legal world, (*Laughter*) he has been very easy to work with in a political arena. Open to inviting and hearing all points of view, and a good delegator. Many Members and civil servants have commented on how much additional meeting and positive sharing of information and views there has been between Committees through new structures such as the regular President's meetings.

Before I move on to conclusion, I would like to add if there is going to be some sort of review about allegations which, in my view, are no more than a description of one or two Members feelings, then other self-serving and manipulative behaviour, which I have personally observed from certain Members, should also be reviewed. (**A Member:** Hear, hear.) Screenshotting private messages and circulating to all Members in breach of GDPR, talking to the press and disclosing information without sub-committee permission, using confidential sub-committee information to form the basis of personal public presentations, regular passive aggressive heckling and mumbling of offensive remarks about other Members in meetings.

Sir, as you chided us for only recently, a female voice was even broadcast from the Assembly over the BBC insulting and swearing about a male Member. Constantly being late, impertinent, rolling back of eyes, (*Interjection*) laughing at, patronising, belittling and ridiculing other Members' views and their speeches, repeatedly interrupting others and even shouting over them, ignoring the Chair and let us not forget the regularly bursting into tears and even storming out of meetings because somebody disagrees with you.

For example, on one memorable occasion, when Deputy Soulsby was still a Member of P&R, another Member was phoning the BBC armed with confidential information about my personal visit to a factory in the UK within an hour of the end of the P&R meeting. One thing I can say I have seen is that many Members, in addition to these childish and unprofessional behaviours, obviously personally dislike one another. But perhaps most importantly, some Members are also willing to take offence, criticise and play victim.

Let us not forget the infamous concocted outrage of toilet gate, for example. A cynic might observe when putting these observations together a pattern can be seen. We can all play the game of insinuation, of poor behaviour or argue it from the perspective of our feelings but this is certainly not the appropriate forum for it and nor is it relevant to P&R's mandate or representative of good governance, good leadership, or indeed statesmanship.

I come from a professional background and a very successful career, which means I am here for altruistic reasons and through a sense of duty to my Island and unlike many Members, not because I need a job. I am used to working with, for and around professional people who behave in a direct and sometimes uncompromising ways, taking responsibility for decisions and managing tens, hundreds or billions of pounds in a private sector environment which does not suffer or promote incompetence (**A Member:** Hear, hear.) and rejects ideology as the basis for decision-making.

Some Members obviously find coming up against well qualified, experienced people who respectfully but firmly disagree with them, intimidating and difficult to cope with. That is a perfectly natural reaction but professional confidence and assertiveness is neither bullying nor is it toxic. In the real world, it is normal and expected. For example, you can regularly see it being exercised by our Presiding Officer and our Presidents and Members, both male and female. It is not abuse.

I have been a senior manager, managing partner, chairman and chief executive of many different types and sizes of businesses in several different cultures and jurisdictions and never had a single complaint in 35 years. But frankly, if some of the behaviours I have actually observed and already mentioned from several States' Members were exhibited in the private sector they would be met

with a HR meeting, an identified need for training or the commencement of a disciplinary process with a view to potential exit.

1295 Sir, in summary, this motion is entirely without merit. Supporting it is the wrong thing for Guernsey, especially at the moment. We collectively face a very difficult 18 months before the next election. In particular of those issues that I can mention, we have Moneyval ahead of us and likely even more significant potential challenges not far over the horizon.

1300 The public just wants us to get on with the job (**Several Members:** Hear, hear.) and a refreshed P&R with all of our support can continue to do so. I have stepped down, as I was intending to do anyway, because I have discharged my considerable responsibilities to the best of my ability and frankly, I have had enough banging my head against a wall, but also to make room for a fresh approach whilst maintaining continuity because I believe that continuity will be the key to our ability to respond flexibly and with continued momentum for the remainder of this term.

1305 I intend to continue to contribute positively to the work of Government whenever I am called upon by colleagues to do so. Failing to maintain continuity, however, carries the very real risk of dropping the ball and causing irreparable damage to our economy, which I am pleased to say has, to date shown under my stewardship, the best rate of growth for a decade. (*Laughter.*)

1310 So, in conclusion Members should please focus on Guernsey's needs rather than their own. Now is clearly not the right time to be changing the leadership team. I ask Members to vote Contre and reject this motion so that a refreshed P&R can get on with the urgent and important work which Guernsey needs us all to complete.

Thank you. (*Applause*)

1315 **The Bailiff:** Deputy Meerveld.

Deputy Meerveld: Thank you, sir.

1320 I ask the Assembly to bear with me today. I have been running a high grade fever since Wednesday last week and it has not abated and I arguably should be in bed rather than here, but this debate is simply too important. As I have struggled with what I am going to say in this debate I have re-thought it several times, I have not written one down as I normally do and because I am not thinking as straight as normal, I suspect it will not be as pithy and joined up as it should be.

1325 But I am going to try my best to explain my position and why I think this Assembly desperately needs to have a reset and refresh on the P&R Committee today to give us any chance to do what Deputy Helyar has just said the public wants us to do; just get on with it. But I do not think that will happen under the current or a slightly amended P&R, for various reasons.

1330 I am going to start off by paraphrasing a *Spiderman* movie; with great expectations comes great disappointment. The fact is, for three years you could not have had a more loyal and steadfast supporter of this P&R than me. So why have I now come to the point where I say sorry, they have to go, we have to make a change?

1335 Well, it is not an easy decision; it is not something I have come to lightly by any stretch of the imagination. Unfortunately, the truth is I have witnessed the bad behaviour Deputy de Sausmarez has referred to and the bad attitude towards other Committees. I think you have a Policy & Resource Committee here who are driven by personal egos and a desire, well certainly an attitude, of 'We are right, you must agree with us or everybody else is wrong' and it has become incredibly destructive going forward.

1340 P&R is the guiding Committee, it is meant to set the policy direction and help co-operation between Committees and bring us all together. In fact, what it has been doing is creating the divisions that have brought us to this sorry state of affairs and a States where rather than action this day, that was an expression used three years ago, we have inaction this day and Deputy Ferbrache, just on Saturday, was on TV saying we need to get past this, there are things we need to get on and do. There are things we have needed to get on do for the last three years but how much has actually got done and why do we think that simply dropping a motion of no confidence and proceeding will enable any of it to be done?

1345 My personal experiences with the wind farm; so the wind farm scoping report was published on 18th October last year, around the same time that the States rejected the first green paper on GST. We had all been facing those demands; if you are not going to vote for GST what are you going to do? What are you going to all do to raise the revenue?

1350 Well guess what? Myself, Deputy Blin, Deputy de Lisle and others came forward with a proposal, the only one that I have seen that can bring in the kind of revenue that would be able to offset GST. So was this welcomed with open arms by P&R? Well, first of all the report was given to P&R on 18th October but it was not until December they actually decided to take up the recommendation and form a working group to explore the windfarm.

1355 The report explicitly stated this project would cross so many mandates, so many different areas of the States that it needed to be a collaborative cross-Committee working group including Economic Development, Environment & Infrastructure, States' Trading Supervisory Board and P&R.

1360 The P&R Committee decided to ignore that recommendation and say that it was going to be purely a P&R working group. From day one I said that is a mistake because your problem is you need other Committees, particularly Environment & Infrastructure, to participate in this process because there are deliverables.

1365 This project cannot go ahead without marine spatial plans with environmental impact studies, with 101 things that come under their mandate. I wrote a long, well I raised it several times during my term chairing that working group, one particular email when I said I insisted on us briefing Deputy de Sausmarez and I gave all the justifications of why it needed to be done. I got a reply from one of the Members of the working group from P&R; one word, no decal, no best regards, just the word 'don't'.

1370 That pretty much summed up the attitude that I saw all along. It was our way or the highway, everybody else is wrong we are right and it is perfectly illustrated by Deputy Ferbrache on the day of the third time that GST was rejected, apparently it is a Committee with very bad hearing as they cannot have heard the word no, stood up and said 'we should have an early election, this States is not capable of making hard decisions, we need an early election', because 25 Members who voted against, or 24, voted against GST; for effectively the third time.

1375 Well, hold on a second. No, the States of Guernsey, this Assembly have made this decision three times, supported by a clear majority three times. Could it possibly be a failing of P&R to persuade both this Assembly and the public to come along with it? Why are the 24 wrong and only you and your supporters' right? Why? Does that indicate as an Assembly that is not working?

1380 No, it indicates a P&R that is not working, that is failing in its basic role to bring the Assembly, to bring us, with them and the people of Guernsey and that is, I think, the absolute core here and the fact is the wind farm project, looking back on my time there, was undermined, under-resourced and deliberately delayed from day one.

1385 We were told by developers who came to Guernsey, who had also spoken to Jersey, and said we were miles ahead of them in our progress on developing a Wind Farm Project. We are now miles behind them, as is patently obvious. Why? Because, I believe Members of the P&R, consciously or subconsciously, deliberately delayed and obstructed the Wind Farm Project going forward because it contradicted with their narrative on GST.

1390 It was and is a viable alternative. I repeat what I have been saying all along, that the wind farm can deliver as much, or more, revenue than GST, faster than GST. And by the way, this was not a new message to P&R; I have been telling them that since August last year when I started writing the report. I said here is the answer, it is only when I went public with it that they said that is it, you are fired.

I did not get a phone call from a single Member of P&R. Deputy Chris Blin, my close working colleague on the wind farm, was sent as the intermediary to tell me that 'P&R are firing you'; there was no resignation ever and there is no way of persuading them otherwise. That was on 27th September.

1395 Okay, so P&R has now been running the project since then. Since 27th September I have been contacted by Crown Estates and two other very large developers. I mean, we are talking about near

£100 billion companies. I was under strict instructions from P&R not to communicate with anybody and of course I knew if I did, I was going to have it held over me.

1400 So I have not said a word to them, I just pass those messages on. As of today, Crown Estates, or the developers or the people, many of which I brought to the table personally, people like Equinor, my own personal contacts, have not been told I have been fired as Chair of the Wind Farm Group; they are still oblivious to the fact.

1405 The Wind Farm Project has gone no further. Offers from companies like Equinor to spend £2.4 million and start the studies on marine mammal and birds studies of using aerial surveys, they offered in June to start doing the surveys in September at their own expense and at their own risk and they had already booked the vendors to provide the surveying and they were going to do it, to help accelerate the project because you have to capture two Octobers of migrations in the data and they wanted to make sure we got started this year.

1410 That proposal got swept away to our Law Officers, etc., and I believe Equinor never got a reply to their offer and we have now lost that window and pushed back the entire project by a minimum of a year because you have to do two years research and data before you can do the applications for the environmental impacts.

1415 So, what do we have? We have a situation where we have a Policy & Resources Committee who are, again back to the wind farm, okay so the Wind Farm Project has been delayed, to some extent has scuppered, it is not irreparable with a new emphasis and new focus we can get it back on track.

Are we now behind Jersey? Yes, when we should have been a year ahead but it is not irreparable; but it is a reason for a change in P&R because I do not have any trust in this Committee or this leadership to deliver on it. Hell, I would say they would even thwart it just to prevent me saying, I told you so.

1420 The Machinery of Government, it has become very, very clear through the Machinery of Government Working Group on which Deputy McKenna and myself sit representing SACC that the current P&R Committee wants Executive Government. The way that things have transpired in that Working Group looks to me like manipulation to try and achieve that and to almost bulldoze through ideas against the objections of myself and Deputy McKenna on behalf of SACC.

1425 SACC have been briefed on all those developments and will eventually, hopefully, see the report before it goes to P&R. But of course, Deputy McKenna says we will do a minority report; we cannot, it is just a report to P&R to be actioned by P&R. My hope is it is a new P&R to consider it so that the whole thing can be looked at because Machinery of Government, we have massive problems with our Machinery of Government. There is an opportunity to make positive changes but the ones that they are trying to create of this Parliamentary Assembly will not get past this Assembly, they will not get supported.

1430 They are trying to do things in a way that I do not agree with and I do not think, well we will not be able to write a minority report but we will amend or object to or vote against the work that we have been working on in that Committee, if it came back in the form it does now and my hope is that would be a lost opportunity. I want to see positive changes happening through that Machinery of Government not that wasted opportunity to another term to make changes. That needs a new P&R to do it.

1440 There is another element to this as well and I talked about my personal frustrations of where I have come to the point where I am saying, look this is not working we need a reset on behalf of our Island, for God's sake, we need a reset. But let me step back and be a little less emotional about it.

1445 Let us talk about what is a motion of no confidence, what are we actually talking about in principle, and it is very interesting? Deputy Prow, when he opened up, quoted an often used phrase here, 'in politics it is rarely about what it is about', and this is as true this time as any other. It is not about a Committee who failed to get their key policy through on three occasions, although that is significant. Many committees have resigned, having failed to get through their key policy in a term.

No, it is more to do; it is all those other things behind the scenes, the approach and attitude shown to Deputy de Sausmarez and other Committees. This 'we are right you are wrong' attitude, this divisive approach. Instead of being the leading Committee who draws us all together and helps

increase collaborative working, it has actually been one that has been generating the silos and the separations and splits the division we see in this Assembly today. Where does it come from?

There has been discussion earlier about leadership. That is it. The leadership is the one that sets the tone in the room. They are the ones who are supposed to actually change these things for the better and it has not happened. So, motion of confidence, when we are saying motion of no confidence in a Committee, we are saying we are not looking at the individuals.

The fact is, I have been a close friend, collaborator and supporter of Deputy Ferbrache for seven years and I have respect for all the other Members of P&R and their abilities and they are intelligent, hard working people. I believe they are dedicated and are doing what they believe is in the best interest of this Island, but I think the wolf, the leader and the pack analogy Deputy McKenna used, it is how do they function as a group? Do they provide the guidance? Do they bring us together? Do they help collaborate, etc. that's required within a consensus Government?

My feeling is they have tried to become an executive within a consensus and it has failed. Why has it failed? Well, you could see it, I mean the existing P&R, before the Motion of No Confidence, they have not been able to get anything through anyway. Look at the Financial Investment Plan look at the budget, how many amendments that they either opposed or supported that did not get through. They cannot carry this Assembly. Why do we think that today a change of two individuals on that Committee will mean that Deputy Ferbrache will be able to command a majority in this Assembly and carry things forward?

So my fear is we have to look at it as a group not just as an individual. We are not targeting individuals here. Do we have a group at the top that can, as of this afternoon if this motion of no confidence is decided before lunch, do we have a group who can coalesce this Assembly again, bring us together and take us forward? And I say, no, the division is too deep, the mistakes are too great it has gone too far.

What we need is a reset. The danger is if we do not have that reset things do not just remain as they are but they get worse. The bickering, the fighting, the retribution and the backbiting will increase to the end of this term. What will happen at the end of this term? Well, we have already been dubbed the worst State's ever, that is not new, but I think we are trying very hard to earn the moniker this time.

At the next election, if we continue on the route we are now, I would fully anticipate and somewhat sympathise with the public saying get rid of all of them, have a massive clean sweep, a bit like 2012 and have a majority of new Members coming to the States. Just clean out the whole lot, you know and have the vast majority. That is fine in principle but then the problem is, where is the continuity in a time of difficulty, where is the knowledge and the skills you would lose in that process?

We need to be able to turn things around and do things. We have nearly a year and a half left, is this States really going to say, 'Oh what the hell just leave them in there it is not worth the change, we do not want the risk of a reset'? Or are we going to say, 'no, I tell you what it has not worked so far; it is time for a reset and yes there is risk associated with that because we do not know who will be elected to the new team who are put in there, but at least that new team would be new'?

It would have a certain honeymoon period in which they could, hopefully, pull the Assembly together and change the atmosphere, the mood music and the desires to get things done and please face some of these issues we face and get them done by the end of this term. Get some things, you know, progress the wind farm, progress financing Education, progress 101 other things that are out there. I do not see how it can possibly happen under Deputy Ferbrache.

I beg Members, support the motion of no confidence. Let us have a reset at this stage, let us at least have an opportunity to have something better before the end of this turn. We owe it to our Island, we owe it to the public and we owe it to ourselves.

Thank you, sir.

Deputy Trott: As I have not spoken, as stated earlier on this morning, it is now just over three minutes to midday and I would like to move Rule 26(1) please.

The Bailiff: Can I invite those Members who have not yet spoken in debate, and there are only three left to stand in their places if they wish to do so. So there are two Members out of the three who have not spoken plus Deputy Trott as well. Is it still your wish that I put the motion?

1505 **Deputy Trott:** It is, sir.

The Bailiff: Well the motion, Members of the States, is that debate on this motion of no confidence be curtailed at this point, subject to hearing from Deputy Parkinson as the lead signatory to reply to the debate. Those in favour; those against.

1510 *Members voted Contre.*

The Bailiff: I think I will declare that lost. Do you want a recorded vote?

Deputy Trott: A recorded vote please, sir.

The Bailiff: I will invite the Greffier to open the voting please.

1515 *There was a recorded vote.*

Carried – Pour 14, Contre 23, Ne vote pas 3, Did not vote 0, Absent 0

Pour	Contre	Ne vote pas	Did not vote	Absent
Blin, Chris	Aldwell, Sue	De Sausmarez, Lindsay	None	None
Burford, Yvonne	Brouard, Al	Leadbeater, Marc		
Bury, Tina	De Lisle, David	Parkinson, Charles		
Cameron, Andy	Dudley-Owen, Andrea			
Helyar, Mark	Dyke, John			
Le Tissier, Chris	Fairclough, Simon			
McKenna, Liam	Falla, Steve			
Meerveld, Carl	Ferbrache, Peter			
Oliver, Victoria	Gabriel, Adrian			
Queripel, Lester	Gollop, John			
Soulsby, Heidi	Haskins, Sam			
St Pier, Gavin	Inder, Neil			
Taylor, Andrew	Kazantseva-Miller, Sasha			
Trott, Lyndon	Le Tocq, Jonathan			
	Mahoney, David			
	Matthews, Aidan			
	Moakes, Nick			
	Murray, Bob			
	Prow, Robert			
	Roberts, Steve			
	Roffey, Peter			
	Snowdon, Alexander			
	Vermeulen, Simon			

1520 **The Bailiff:** So on the motion pursuant to Rule 26(1) proposed by Deputy Trott there voted in favour 14 Members, against 23 Members, 3 Members abstained and that is why it has been declared lost. Deputy Haskins.

Deputy Haskins: Thank you, sir.

1525 Really in response to Deputy McKenna, it does seem that the wolves are at the door, I just do not know if they are coming or going. I would also say that this this Assembly is the pack that he was referring to. But anyway, like Deputy Aldwell I would like to put on record my praise and thanks to Deputy Mahoney and Deputy Helyar, they are raw talent that will be sorely missed. (**Several Members:** Hear, hear.)

1530 I do not want to speak on this for very long, so I will not. I do not really believe all this airing of personal opinions of some Members, and even Members who are not on P&R, is useful or indeed proper. There are significant challenges ahead for Guernsey, including for the remainder of this term.

1535 The public expects us to navigate through these and do our best and what is right. Consistency, continuity, stability are and will be of utmost importance. Indeed, Deputy Meerveld stated continuing continuity is needed. Sir, I have four main points; the first is that I would like to point out to SACC and Members that this Motion of No Confidence and the resounding lack of reasoning put forward in this motion has set a precedent. I think that is noteworthy.

1540 The second is that I believe that P&R have been diligent and as Deputy Oliver highlighted, have fulfilled their mandate effectively certainly with regard to fiscal responsibility in mind and done so fairly amongst Committees. I would remind Members that it was actually this Assembly that voted down the substantive tax reforms, not P&R, but the Assembly. So if there is a lack of confidence to fulfil their mandate it probably should be better aimed at all of us and not just P&R.

1545 The third point is, and was mentioned again by Deputy Oliver, a new top Committee does not change anything. When a policy letter comes back to the Assembly it is this very same Assembly with the very same Members who will vote on it. Nothing really changes.

1550 Which brings me to my fourth and final point, my most important point. If Members want change that change comes from within each and every one of us. We must put aside any political differences and commit to working together. So that is my plea. Whichever the outcome of this motion, which I do hope fails, we must individually commit to working together to try and obtain agreement on a way forward. Each policy letter coming forward from now on to the States will get harder and harder to get across the line if we do not. Sir, I support P&R and will not support this motion. I urge Members to keep stability in this very unstable time.

1555 **The Bailiff:** Alderney Representative Snowdon.

Alderney Representative Snowdon: Thank you, sir.

1560 And thank you to the Assembly for letting us both do our final speech today. But I am a little bit lost, actually, with all of this because I have listened very closely to this debate and the last debate as well, which was part one and part two, and it feels a bit more like a counselling session, that we have been going through what is good and what is bad and what we have got on our chests and what we want to get off our chests. Which has probably been helpful but probably not the right environment to do it with the motion of no confidence against P&R at the moment.

1565 So I think if we just go back to what we were meant to be here to basically look into, which is a motion of no confidence against our Senior Committee for the States of Guernsey. Do we have the evidence to actually consider that they have failed and should be removed forthwith because it is a major catastrophe which we now place ourselves in and the whole of the Assembly and the States of Guernsey and the Bailiwick?

1570 Well, I think to be honest, if we had the tax debate, if we look at it there were options that were put forward, the GST package, which did not get a majority, the Income Tax which also failed, Corporation Tax that also failed. But that was all our decisions, it was not P&R's decision; it was all of our decision. It was debated, the pros and cons of each argument and it did not succeed.

1575 So I think as it has been highlighted a number of times in this debate, we all failed. I think that is the honest reality of the situation, to come up with an actual tax plan that we could implement that we desperately need. So, is the Motion of No Confidence actually against this whole Chamber rather than P&R? That is really the question and that is maybe something that we do not have the power to debate but that is something we need to actually think about if that is the situation.

1580 So where are we now? Because I think it is important to see where we got to, what went wrong and potentially what will happen, which is down to you guys in a maybe a few minutes depending on another speech afterwards. But where we are, sadly, now is that Education has got no funding, round in circles it goes for how many more years with no funding for Education.

I think P&R has said a number of times about the older pensioners coming through, an extra 5,000, deficit growing, issues paying for key services, ageing demographics, how we raise more cash, how do we pay nurses and teachers going forward? That is not scare mongering, that is reality and that is the situation that, to be fair, P&R has tried to get across to this Assembly and to the public.

1585 We could argue that maybe it could have been done better it could have been done more, maybe us, some more Deputies could have supported what they were proposing or other ideas, but those situations are still there. The situation is still there. We have not resolved it as an Assembly and if there is a new P&R you are still going to have the same situation.

1590 It is a dream to think it will go away and I think, as a Deputy Brouard has said in previous debates, Hippo Land, and I think some of us may be thinking that Hippo Land still exists, where, you know, things will disappear and we do not need to make the tough decisions, but we do not seem to make any decisions, to be quite honest, do we?

1595 If we actually think about what we have achieved over the last few years, what are the major decisions that we have made? Probably only a handful that you could actually pick out but the major decisions we surmise them, which is not P&R I should say, we surmise them we do not make decisions, we come up with reasons why we do not want to make those decisions and actually not get a grip of the decision-making that we need to do for our communities.

1600 So, I think it actually comes back to governance. I think you have got real issues with governance in this Chamber and unfortunately I think it needs to be looked at but you are more turning into the UK government with Conservative and Labour and I think your party system has caused that from the start. I do not think it has helped the situation. So if we look at the parties or clubs or associations, you had the Party of Independence, the Guernsey Party, the Vann Party, the Flag Party or whatever you like to call them, and some independents.

1605 Now that means that you are in a clash before you even got round the table to try and sort things out, which is not helpful. So all these different groups and clubs or parties or whatever you want to call yourselves, it is essential that you need to come together on the big stuff. It is important you do ask questions, scrutinise, do the amendments; absolutely brilliant. But when it comes to the big stuff, you need to try and get together rather than these groups or parties trying to fight for ground because it is not really helping the bigger picture. It may feel that we are winning in this
1610 Chamber or we are losing in this Chamber, but there is more to this Chamber. It is the Resolutions that we take from this Chamber and implement which are really, really important and if we cannot make decisions and implement those Resolutions, then I go back to we are a failing Government.

So even if you change the people on P&R, will that turn things around, will it make people join in the right directions and try and get these parties and groups more associated? Could do, but I
1615 think looking at the past history it does not look like it will do. So I think we actually go back to whatever happens with this debate there needs to be some serious questions about how governance is actually working, (**A Member:** Hear, hear.) how these amendments are getting put into this Chamber and how much time these amendments, I mean please do put them in they are absolutely fantastic but you need to have some sort of rules in place where the amendments do
1620 not totally overshadow the policy letters and that is where we have got to at the moment when the policy letter is normally on a Friday afternoon, forgotten about and practically nodded through after debates and endless debates about amendments.

So, I think we have got a real risk with how things move forward with a future States and even after your election unless this pattern is changed somehow. So I think that needs to be quite
1625 urgently looked into, about how it can be changed and how we can actually get more direction and more decision-making from all of us, collectively, for the good of the Islands. So I think that is really important.

So let us go back to the Motion of No Confidence, which we are here today to actually, hopefully, come to some sort of outcome. I think I have got to look at the three remaining Members of Policy
1630 & Resources who are working very hard, in my view, and I think we have got to start asking ourselves questions about those three remaining Members. Do they have the experience that they have had in this role? I would think so, yes. Do they have personal experience, business understanding and

some law expertise, which would be helpful to Policy & Resources? Yes, I think that is probably an answer. Are they doing their best for Guernsey, are they doing their best for Guernsey and the Bailiwick as a whole? Yes, I think we all are, but yes, those three remaining Members I would have said they are.

Have they inherited a situation? Now, that is an important one because I think a lot of us or members of the public may think that P&R has suddenly gone in this direction or that direction but I think this financial storm has been brewing for a tremendous amount of time and, to be honest, no one has really got a grip of it until the new P&R came in but they did not take the rest of the Assembly, or were unable to take the rest of the Assembly with us, but did they inherit the situation? Well, that was a yes. I think that is quite clear to say.

Does the situation need to be resolved? Well, I think we have heard that, I do not think it is going to be resolved in the next 18 months before your election but I think you guys need to work together. So again, that is a yes; it does need to be resolved. And have they worked hard, the Members of P&R, and I am also going to include the Members that resigned from Policy & Resources; Deputy Mahoney and Deputy Helyar? I would say extremely hard, I mean, I would not even like to ask how many hours they are doing per week with Committee meetings, research, reading and all of the stuff. It is a tremendous role I understand being a Member of Policy & Resources and have any of them not put in absolutely a tremendous amount of work to try and fulfil that task? I think every single one of them has worked extremely hard in that role.

So I have gone through a little bit of checklist on my motion of no confidence and I think I am saying yes to most of the stuff that I have just outlined there. So I think well actually well that seem to be not supporting the motion of no confidence because I still actually have not really heard the evidence, to be honest, which was raised I think in part one of this debate when we were here a couple of weeks ago.

So we do need to make hard decisions and you can say that actually the decision that we are going to make in a minute is a hard decision, but we need to understand the repercussions of the decision that we are going to make. So I think we need to look closely at potentially what are the repercussions.

So we hear about the wind farm will save us. Well, I have just joined the Alderney Marine Working Group, I do not know we have got quite a lot of different groups in Alderney. Wind potentially will get there, but it is not going to make millions of pounds tomorrow. I am sorry to say that but it will potentially be a little bit longer on so I think we have just got to be careful that we are not hyping-up wind generation, that is going to save us tomorrow and it is going to be fantastic. You are looking at quite a bit of time before that hopefully, hopefully kicks in. So I think we have just got to be careful about that sort of it.

It will not save us tomorrow and I think we have got to also try and be more professional in our manner, to be quite honest, because I think, as has been said, there is a lot of 'he said, she said'. I do not want to get into what is right about what parties are saying, but I think we do need to, all of us, be quite professional in our manner and it is easy for emotions and issues to get pulled in and people not getting on well or could get on better. So, it really goes back to your governance. You probably need some team building, somehow, put in for the whole Assembly. Not quite sure how you achieve that one either.

I would just like to point out from the Sark and Alderney side of view, I understand Sark has been working very closely with Deputy Helyar and Policy & Resources on quite major issues and I understand that has been, hopefully, quite successful with steps in play. Just from the States of Alderney's point of view, I have got to say that we worked with Deputy Brouard very well when he was in that role, we miss Deputy Brouard, but we have also worked very well with Deputy Helyar and I think he spends a lot of time trying to sort out some major stuff in a friendly atmosphere, having hard conversations.

Okay, so all the meetings that I have had with Deputy Helyar, with the States of Alderney, have always been a friendly atmosphere but strong conversations about various stuff and I think we have agreed ways forward with working streams and such and such. So I would say that actually I would

1685 consider him a gentleman when it has been in discussions with the States of Alderney and our
working groups, which have been the Bailiwick Council, which I do not sit on, Alderney Liaison Group
and the Alderney Care Board, which will probably come up a little bit later on and not for this debate.
But quite importantly the Alderney Care Board is implemented because it gives framework
1690 potentially for Guernsey taking that on board and doing the same sort of thing on a bigger scale.
So it is quite important that it is successful.

And our connections with Guernsey have been very supportive with those different working
groups. So I would like to actually thank Deputy Helyar for the time that he spent on those different
working groups with the States of Alderney. (**A Member:** Hear, hear.) But I think we have got to
look at ourselves in the mirror a little bit and unfortunately I think we have all got egos because you
1695 probably all like to get a little bit of coverage and media on what you are doing and how you are
fighting for things but I think the egos are probably taking over a little bit too much, (**Several
Members:** Hear, hear.) and I think we just need to drain back the egos a little bit and it is important
your voices are heard. It really is important your voices are heard each and every single one of you.
Why you are elected, what you stand for that is really important.

1700 But when potentially an ego overshadows, hopefully, making the right outcome on a matter
then I think we have got problems. I am just saying that very subtly, but I think we just need to just
look at ourselves in the mirror a little bit and think, actually, do we need to tone things down
sometimes to try and get the outcome that would be the best for the Bailiwick? I think that is quite
an important one actually. (**A Member:** Hear, hear.)

1705 So going back to the governance issues because we are looking at a Motion of No Confidence,
which I actually think is a motion about how governance needs to be improved or amended
somehow and I think it, my personal view, is that it has got a bit blurred. You need to look at how
the amendments are actually going to be working, how you can stop the amendments from
overshadowing the policy letter, which is actually a tremendous amount of work from that
1710 Committee. It might even be better if the Committee pulls the policy letter rather than get heavily
amended and it is completely different to what the original thing was.

You also need to look at long speeches. I know everyone likes going on and putting their
speeches, but I think the long speeches are taking up way too much time at the moment
(**A Member:** Hear, hear.) it needs to be a bit more punchy and everything.

1715 **Deputy Bury:** Point of order, sir.

The Bailiff: Point of order, Deputy Bury.

1720 **Deputy Bury:** Rule 17(6).

The Bailiff: Yes, I think we are straying away from the Motion of No Confidence, Alderney
Representative Snowdon; you are starting to repeat yourself and other Members.

1725 **Alderney Representative Snowdon:** Thank you, sir.

Exactly, I was just trying to highlight about how I do not think the Motion of No Confidence has
actually got the evidence and I think what this debate has shown is that there is evidence of other
issues, which potentially are linked to a motion of no confidence, but actually it is not the Motion
of No Confidence it is your governance issues which are kicking in and I think the frustration is
1730 being shown in this debate, to be honest, part one and part two of this debate. So that is why I was
trying to highlight, sir, but I will move on.

So if we think about it a little bit, if the Motion of No Confidence wins and I have used this phrase
before, it is easy for us to throw stones and smash the windows but the Committees have to rebuild
them, but this would be completely blowing up the Committee and starting again. I do not think in
1735 the time that you have got remaining as this Assembly and the amount of time that that new P&R
would have to come up to speed, and I wish them well if we do get to that stage, I do not think you

are actually going to see any decisions or any action or practically anything, it is all just going to be can kicking.

1740 So I think you have got a real risk that you may go for this motion but I do not think it is going to have the repercussions or the change or whatever you want to signal that you are looking for. I think potentially January, February, if this is successful, it is basically going to be what is the new P&R going to do? How are you going to sort out the fiscal situation? How are you going to get stuff on the tracks again? And, to be fair, even if those Members are highly experienced I do not think they are going to be able to answer those questions.

1745 So are we just officially saying can kicking, new P&R caretaker, basically caretaker P&R until the election? I am not sure that is a, well I do not think it is actually, a safe environment to get into. So I think we have got to be very, very careful and we did have the Monday meeting where some issues were highlighted from Deputy Peter Ferbrache about major issues and priorities. Mr Roberts and myself were listening in on Teams and it seemed to be that you do need to work together and I think, to be honest, I think we all know that we need to work together. We need to question ourselves, but we do need to work together.

1750 So the question that you have to answer in your own minds is; what are the repercussions of what you are going to do now? Does this make your parties, groups and everything more confrontational to each other or does this actually pull everyone together with your different parties by supporting this motion?

1755 My personal view is that it would probably just make everything even more messy. I think probably the way forward is to look at your two new Members to change P&R with two fresh faces and fresh ideas but also have the experience from the three remaining Members on P&R. So I will not be supporting this motion today but I think it has raised a number of other issues which are affecting the way that you govern and probably need to be looked at urgently but I would say to support this motion now and move on to appointing two new Members of Policy & Resources, whoever you may be.

Thank you, sir.

1765 **The Bailiff:** As no one else is rising, I will turn to Deputy Parkinson to reply to the debate please.

Deputy Parkinson: Thank you, sir.

1770 Well, Members, will know that my habit is to respond to debates thematically to avoid repetition but there have been a number of direct questions and challenges posed to me and so I will deal with those first. I start with Deputy Queripel, who asked for evidence to support the motion of no confidence and I would point him to the speeches of Deputy de Sausmarez and Deputy Soulsby in particular.

1775 I think there has been plenty of evidence offered to the Assembly to support the motion and, of course, it is for him to decide whether that is sufficient to satisfy his criteria. Deputy Dudley-Owen, asked for a definition of what would constitute fit for purpose. Well, I have just had a stab at this from my off the cuff and I think what would a fit for purpose P&R do?

1780 I would say (1) it would be able to build a consensus, (2) it would be able to provide a vision, (3) it would lead the Committees and co-ordinate the Committees to work together towards the common purpose, and (4) it would develop fiscal policies to meet the financial needs of the States. So that is simply my response Deputy Dudley-Owen.

Now, the other one speech I want to mention was Deputy Helyar and I will say that his recollection of the discussions, for example at the meeting held to discuss the potential use of Les Vardes Quarry for water storage, differs from that of others who attended the meeting. I was not there myself, so I rely on them for an account of the proceedings.

1785 According to Deputy de Sausmarez, Deputy Helyar did not, as he put it, question the veracity of Guernsey Water's figures and incidentally the figures at Guernsey Water tell me, that were provided to that meeting, were £860,000 for a connection of 1500m to the current water network, not the

figures given by Deputy Mahoney to the Assembly, which were £500,000 for kilometres of a connection.

1790 According to Deputy de Sausmarez, Deputy Helyar's comments were dismissive, scornful and incredibly rude. As to Deputy Helyar's claim that no one complained about his behaviour at the time, Deputy de Sausmarez tells me that she reported his behaviour in the appropriate way at the time, namely to the Chair, Deputy Ferbrache, to SACC and to the Head of the Civil Service.

1795 I am not going to comment further on Deputy Helyar's speech, suffice it to say that my recollections generally differ from his but the bitter tone of his comments, I am afraid, illustrate the divisive nature of the old P&R. Now I am going to carry on with my general comments but firstly I want to thank Members for what, I think, has been, in general, a measured discussion of the issues. The debate obviously had the potential to become personal and heated, but with one or two exceptions, I think we have avoided that. Certainly, I tried to keep my opening remarks temperate, 1800 factual and measured.

Where I think some of the debate went astray was when supporters of the P&RC extolled the individual virtues of each of the Members of the Committee in defence against the motion. But the signatories to the Motion of No Confidence are not saying that individually these Deputies are without talent. What we are saying is that collectively, they do not have what it takes to successfully 1805 lead the States forward in the remainder of this term.

If I take Deputy Ferbrache as an example, he is undoubtedly the best courtroom advocate in Guernsey. He is also a very good raconteur and we were treated to one of his long and entertaining speeches (*Laughter*) on his favourite subject, himself. (*Laughter*) We learned, for example, that his grandfather was born in the 1870s and he was a stonemason but of course, that had nothing to do 1810 with the debate. I might as well say that I am a direct descendant of Rollo, the founder of the Norman dynasty. That happens to be true, but it is completely irrelevant. (*Laughter.*)

What the signatories of the motion of no confidence are saying is that collectively this team lacks vision, it lacks the ability to inspire other States' Members to achieve a shared goal, it does not empower other colleagues to play their part in the collective effort, unless they are perceived as 1815 being part of the gang, it is divisive and, in fact, it has a history of disempowering colleagues and frustrating agreed policies of the States.

Now, there is one point I need to address in my closing remarks, a number of allegations of bullying and poor behaviour by Members of P&R emerged during the course of the debate. I did not make any such allegations in my opening remarks, although I was aware of them and since it 1820 seems that these allegations will be, or perhaps have been, referred to the appropriate authority for investigation, I do not intend to expand on them now.

What I will say is that this has become the most divided Assembly that I have ever known and my experience with the States goes back to 2004. The atmosphere in the States has been described as toxic and I think that is true and I think that the genesis of that atmosphere goes right back to 1825 the very first weeks of the Assembly, when the poll topper at the last general election was prevented, by a majority of Members, from taking even an ordinary seat on Scrutiny.

That majority included and was led by P&R. New Members elected in 2020 may not realise that this is not how previous States have behaved. The then concept of consensus government was that everyone was given a job. So, for example, Deputy Ferbrache, who narrowly lost the election for 1830 President of P&R in the 2016-20 term, was first elected as President of the Committee for Economic Development.

Deputy Haskins: Point of order, sir.

1835 **The Bailiff:** Point of order, Deputy Haskins.

Deputy Haskins: I am really sorry, sir, but I do believe this, Rule 17(4) is engaged by this. It might be very interesting, but not replying to the debate.

1840 **The Bailiff:** I think Deputy Parkinson is coming towards the end.

Deputy Parkinson: He is. So when Deputy Ferbrache had to step down from the Economic Development because of a perceived conflict of interest, he was then elected as President of the States' Supervisory Board, Trading Supervisory Board and I think a bigger Policy & Resources Committee in this term would have seen that Deputy St Pier was given a job appropriate to his talent and experience in the Assembly.

In my opening remarks, I explained that the last three years have been characterised by inertia.

1850 **Deputy Inder:** Point of correction, sir.

The Bailiff: Point of correction, Deputy Inder.

1855 **Deputy Inder:** With the greatest respect, I generally think Deputy Parkinson is misleading the Assembly. Deputy St Pier was actually nominated for a role on STSB and I genuinely cannot remember what the votes were, but it was the whole of the Assembly that decided, in some way, to make the claim that Deputy St Pier shot himself in the foot in the last few sentences. But it certainly was not P&R that did not give Deputy St Pier a job. It was the whole of the Assembly that did not give Deputy St Pier job. So I think he is misleading the Assembly.

1860 **The Bailiff:** Deputy Parkinson. I do think we need to get to the end of what you are going to say in reply.

1865 **Deputy Parkinson:** I am very close to getting to the end, sir, and I will get there much quicker if I am not interrupted further. In my opening remarks I explained that the last three years have been characterised by inertia, as Deputy Ferbrache himself admitted in his statement of March 2022 and no one has seriously counted that view. As somebody said in the debate, what have we achieved, what major decisions has the States taken in the last three years?

1870 In this debate we have heard several supporters of P&R but no one listed an array of dazzling achievements and no one put forward a credible argument that the next 18 months would be any more productive under the current leadership. Sir, I think this debate needed to happen. I think it has generally been a good debate but we now need to vote and bring the debate to a conclusion and whatever the result, we need to move forward and work together as an Assembly to make the next 18 months more productive than the last three years. (**Several Members:** Hear, hear.)

1875 Thank you, sir.

The Bailiff: Well, Members of the States, there is a single Proposition in accordance with Rule 21 of the Rules of Procedure asking you whether you have confidence or not in the Committee and I will invite the Greffier, to open the voting.

1880 **Deputy Taylor:** Sir, can I just request an iPad? My laptop is still ... [*Inaudible*]

Deputy Meerveld: Sir, can we just have clarification a vote of *Pour* is supporting the Motion of No Confidence?

1885 **The Bailiff:** Yes. A vote *Pour* is to support the Motion of No Confidence. If you do not support the motion, it is a vote *Contre* and there is the option to not vote at all or to abstain.

There was a recorded vote.

1890 *Carried – Pour 23, Contre 16, Ne vote pas 1, Did not vote 0, Absent 0*

Pour	Contre	Ne vote pas	Did not vote	Absent
Blin, Chris	Aldwell, Sue	Kazantseva-Miller, Sasha	None	None
Burford, Yvonne	Brouard, Al			
Bury, Tina	Dudley-Owen, Andrea			
Cameron, Andy	Ferbrache, Peter			
De Lisle, David	Gollop, John			
De Sausmarez, Lindsay	Haskins, Sam			
Dyke, John	Helyar, Mark			
Fairclough, Simon	Inder, Neil			
Falla, Steve	Le Tocq, Jonathan			
Gabriel, Adrian	Mahoney, David			
Le Tissier, Chris	Moakes, Nick			
Leadbeater, Marc	Murray, Bob			
Matthews, Aidan	Oliver, Victoria			
McKenna, Liam	Prow, Robert			
Meerveld, Carl	Roberts, Steve			
Parkinson, Charles	Snowdon, Alexander			
Queripel, Lester				
Roffey, Peter				
Soulsby, Heidi				
St Pier, Gavin				
Taylor, Andrew				
Trott, Lyndon				
Vermeulen, Simon				

The Bailiff: So the voting on the Motion of No Confidence proposed by Deputy Parkinson and six other Members in the Policy & Resources Committee is that there voted in favour 23 Members, 16 Members voted against and 1 Member abstained and therefore I will declare that the motion has been successful.

1895

Procedural – Order of Business

The Bailiff: Now, before we disappear for what, hopefully, will be a happy event can I simply test your appetite to move straight in this afternoon to elect a President of the Policy & Resources Committee in succession to Deputy Ferbrache because, as you know, under the terms of Rule 21, as the motion of no confidence has been successful, the Proposition that I have put forward to elect two Members of Policy & Resources will simply fall away but we have to elect a President before we can move on to elect the Members?

1900

So, I will simply put a motion to you that we take that immediately after lunch. What we will probably do is move people around a little bit, depending on whether there is going to be a contested election or not but we will get to that this afternoon rather than moving into Statements and Question Time, which will take us the whole of the afternoon come what may, is my estimation.

1905

So the motion is that we resume after lunch with the election of a President of the Policy & Resources Committee. Those in favour; those against.

Members voted Pour.

The Bailiff: I will declare that carried. We will now adjourn until 2.30 p.m.

*The Assembly adjourned at 12.34 p.m.
and resumed its sitting at 2.30 p.m.*

**Election of a President of the new Policy & Resources Committee –
Deputy Trott elected**

1910 **The Bailiff:** Good afternoon, Members of the States, I am going to invite those Members who wish to do so to nominate candidates for the office of President of the Policy & Resources Committee. We will then play some musical chairs. *(Laughter)*
Deputy Fairclough.

1915 **Deputy Fairclough:** I would like to propose the name of Deputy Lyndon Trott please, sir.

The Bailiff: Thank you very much and is that nomination of Deputy Trott seconded?

Deputy Bury: Yes, sir.

1920 **The Bailiff:** Thank you, Deputy Bury.
Deputy Matthews.

Deputy Matthews: I would like to propose the name of our Deputy Charles Parkinson.

1925 **The Bailiff:** Thank you very much and is Deputy Parkinson's nomination seconded?

Deputy Cameron: Yes it is, sir.

1930 **The Bailiff:** Deputy Cameron, thank you very much.
Deputy Murray.

Deputy Murray: I would like to propose Deputy Rob Prow, sir.

1935 **The Bailiff:** And is Deputy Prow's nomination seconded?

Deputy Gollop: Yes, sir.

1940 **The Bailiff:** Deputy Gollop, thank you very much.
And Deputy de Sausmarez.

Deputy de Sausmarez: I would like to propose Deputy Peter Roffey, sir.
Thank you.

1945 **The Bailiff:** And is Deputy Roffey's nomination seconded?

Deputy Le Tocq: Yes, I would like to do that, sir.

1950 **The Bailiff:** Thank you, Deputy Le Tocq. Anyone else?
Right, what I am going to propose is that those candidates who are down there come up onto the bench and those who are not candidates will go and find a seat down in the well of the Assembly please. In an ideal world, and we will start with an ideal world, shall we, Members of the States, what I am going to suggest is, Members, Members! In an ideal world rather than you taking the seats that you are currently occupying at the moment, and I am waiting for Deputy Parkinson, shall we go alphabetical order to start with? So, we will go Deputy Parkinson over by the window, please,
1955 **(Deputy Parkinson:** Okay.) Deputy Prow, Deputy Roffey, Deputy Trott. Now I know it is all a bit cosy for some of you down there now but this is this sense of unity that you will all have. If it works we

might leave you there. Can I just remind Members of the Rules; it has been just over three years since we had a presidential election.

1960 What is going to happen is that I am going to invite the proposer of each of the candidates in turn, but we may well take them in the order that we have got them running across here now, in alphabetical order, to speak for up to five minutes about their candidate and then the candidate themselves have up to 10 minutes to speak.

1965 When each of the four nominations have been proposed through a speech and the candidate has spoken, then there will be a period of up to 60 minutes of questions. Now, what I am going to invite you to do if you want to ask a question, and there will not be time for everyone to ask a question, can you write your name, and only your name, on a piece of paper and then I will do what we did at the start of this term is they will all go into my tock, not Le Tocq but tock, and at that point I will simply draw one out so that you know who is asking the question and I will also draw
1970 out a second name because that will be the person who gets to ask the question thereafter.

The questions for presidential elections must be no longer than 30 seconds; so they are half the period that you get in asking a question. It must be a question that is on an area of policy included in the mandate of the Policy & Resources Committee. It is not about the people, it is about the mandate. Just as the Motion of No Confidence was intended to be about the mandate and it says
1975 no Member may ask more than one question, unless the time has expired.

So, what I am going to ask you to do is if you want to put a question to the four candidates and what we will do is the questions start rotating in terms of who answers first. So for the first question, it will be in alphabetical order, for the second question we shift along one and then go back to Deputy Parkinson, the third question, etc. in that order.

1980 I hope that is sufficiently clear. You ought to have looked at the rules beforehand to remind yourself of what is happening. If there is any cause to interrupt, the process will take a time out and get cracking but at the end of the one hour of questioning there will then be a vote, by secret ballot, and we will work out what we are going to do to fill the time while the votes are being counted at that point. So, if you have got a desire to ask a question can you write your name on a piece of
1985 paper and hand it to one of the Deputy Sheriffs.

Right, so have I got all the names of those Members who wish to potentially ask a question in my tock now? What we are going to do is I am going to invite the proposer of Deputy Parkinson, that is Deputy Matthews, to speak first for up to five minutes. Deputy Matthews.

1990 **Deputy Matthews:** Thank you, sir.

It is my great honour and privilege to nominate one of our most qualified and accomplished Members, Deputy Parkinson, to the post of President of the Committee for Policy & Resources. Deputy Parkinson was educated at Le Monet School, Rugby School and Emmanuel College,
1995 Cambridge where he read law. He qualified as a Chartered Accountant with, what is now, KPMG in London and passed Bar exams achieving 22nd in the country, despite being a part-time student, and was called to the Bar in London.

He returned to Guernsey and established, what is now, Praxis Group in 1983. He left the business in 2004 and was elected to the States for the South East, became a Deputy Minister for T&R,
2000 Treasury & Resources, and was then re-elected, as the poll topper, for the South East in 2008 and elected Minister for T&R unopposed.

In four successful years, he suspended or abolished several taxes, sir, dwellings, profit tax, motor tax and contained public expenditure. Introduced the Financial Transformation Programme with the objective of taking £32 million out of baseline budgets and persuaded the States to adopt IPSA's
accounting standards and obtained an AAA credit rating for the States.

2005 By 2011 Guernsey had entered into more than 33 Tax Information Exchange Agreements and was classed as top tier by the Financial Stability Board. He chaired the States' Strategic Plan team from 2008 to 2011; Deputy Parkinson has always been a strategic thinker. He stood down in 2012, but three years later was re-elected for St Peter Port North in 2015 and again in 2016. Serving as the President of the States' Trading & Supervisory Board he introduced the new waste management

2010 system, including the construction of the waste transfer station and served as the President of the Committee for Economic Development, trialling a new Heathrow route and investigating an international university project and medical tourism. Deputy Parkinson polled 8,800 votes in 2020 and Deputy Parkinson stood as an independent, rejecting both political parties seeing them as personality based and not policy based.

2015 Sir, I first encountered Deputy Parkinson, directly, during a course put on by the Workers' Educational Association to encourage and inform potential new candidates about the workings of the States and some of the issues to be faced by politicians. This demonstrated, to me, a commitment to the cause of the democratic process and it is something that might be helpful nowadays for prospective candidates.

2020 But I first heard about Deputy Parkinson during the debate around the introduction of Zero-10, when the two qualified accountants in the States at the time, of which Deputy Parkinson was one and my father the other, both recognised that the loss of corporate Income Tax and its replacement with a zero rate for most companies would be greatly problematic.

2025 Deputy Parkinson proposed an alternative, dubbed Zero-20 at the time; had those proposals been developed and taken forward the States would not have suffered much of the loss of income that we now find ourselves with. I recognise Deputy Parkinson as a problem solver, sir, the current issues faced by politicians of funding and investment have their root with the loss of corporate Income Tax. We could do much worse than electing one of our most capable Members to help resolve those issues and so I commend Deputy Parkinson to the Assembly.

2030 Thank you, sir.

The Bailiff: Thank you very much and I now invite Deputy Parkinson to speak for up to 10 minutes. Deputy Parkinson, please.

2035 **Deputy Parkinson:** Thank you, sir.

I was an independent candidate at the last general election and I have never been a member of any political party. If elected to this high office, I will work to restore consensus Government in Guernsey. I have also never indulged in personality politics in Guernsey, I have always been about policies and the States needs to make some important policy decisions in the next 18 months.

2040 Perhaps the policy issue with which I am most associated is corporate tax reform, but I do not need to make any changes in that area in the next 18 months beyond the Pillar Two tax charge that Deputy Helyar has already announced to the States. This is due to come into effect in 2025 and it will require all of Treasury's resources to achieve that target date.

2045 I am a big fan of territorial corporate Income Tax, of which the Pillar Two charge will be an example, but I have never said it is easy to do. The States has agreed that its number one priority is affordable housing. When I was President of the States' Trading Supervisory Board I worked hard to clear the Fontaine Vinery site for housing. We provided alternative plots for the light industrial tenants on that site, moving most of them to Griffiths Yard. We must now see faster progress at Fontaine Vinery.

2050 Similarly, when I was President of the Committee for Economic Development I supported States intervention to catalyse the development of Leale's Yard and I still support kick-starting that project with public money. I believe that the site, if the present State's Dairy could be given over to key worker housing, would be much better employed. We must progress the Guernsey Institute to free up the Coutanchez site for social housing as well.

2055 This leads me on to the subject of education. I am determined to see the Transforming Education Programme make solid progress this term. I put forward proposals to fund portfolio two, including the TEP, in the Funding & Investment Plan debate. These did not find favour with the Assembly and I do not propose to bring back new proposals for corporate tax reform in the remainder of this term beyond the Pillar Two tax charges, which Deputy Helyar has already announced.

2060 The Pillar Two tax charge will be a territorial corporate Income Tax applied to companies which are members of large groups. I have long supported territorial corporate income taxes, but I have

never claimed they are easy to implement and it will require all of Treasury's resources to get the necessary work done in a year. I know that the Pillar Two charge will bring in a lot more tax than Treasury currently believes.

2065 A granular review of the Guernsey Company Registry will provide the basis for a more accurate estimate of the tax take and I believe this work can be completed by the end of March next year. My belief that Pillar Two will produce more tax than Treasury believes is founded in my experience of working with large companies.

2070 For the last 14 years, until July this year, I have been a Director of Burford Capital, Guernsey's largest listed trading company by market capitalisation. Indeed, Burford is probably the only company in the Channel Islands which is listed on both the New York and London Stock Exchanges.

I have also previously been a Director of three Guernsey subsidiaries of major banks, among other companies. This brings me on to the issue of independence. The President of Policy & Resources is the only position within the States of Deliberation which is remunerated as a full-time job.

2075 If I am elected President, I will resign from all my outside directorships and devote myself full time to the position. As I said at the beginning of this speech, I was elected as an independent and I will remain independent of outside influences, as well as Guernsey Party politics. I will be happy to expand on any of these points in Question Time.

2080 Thank you, sir.

The Bailiff: I will now turn to the proposer of Deputy Prow, Deputy Murray, to speak for up to five minutes in respect of Deputy Prow.

2085 **Deputy Murray:** Thank you, sir.

I have known Deputy Prow, Rob, for about 40 years. We had a mutual friend in common. A group of us would meet up on Friday for a regular weekend out. He was already a customs officer, part of a lifetime career in public service and as can often happen in Guernsey, despite our tiny 24 square miles, you can go for years without bumping into somebody and apart from occasionally seeing him running on the cliffs, he was running being a keen sportsman I was walking the dogs, that is exactly what happened with he and I.

2090 When I began to pay attention to local politics around the start of the 2016 term tuning in to listen to States' meetings I was surprised to hear him regularly contributing to States' debates in his capacities as Member of HSC and Home Affairs. I did not appreciate, at the time, that these Committees were actually two with some of the heaviest of workloads in the States.

2095 He had been elected for the first time last term; a lifetime career in customs and immigration, including several years as Chief Officer, stood him in good stead for his role on Home Affairs. He is a very principled individual and following a controversial episode regarding a governance report commissioned by the then P&R on Home Affairs, he resigned as he did not shrink from making his disagreement with the handling of it known; he is a courageous man.

2100 For the remainder of the time he remained on HSC, where he had involvement in their response to COVID and the creation of the Partnership of Purpose. He also led the amendment to direct P&R to re-negotiate with the UK on the Reciprocal Health Agreement, which was successfully achieved earlier this term.

2105 As we know, he has been President of Home Affairs since the beginning of this term and one of the significant, and ongoing, projects that his Committee have been managing is preparation for Moneyval. He has a considerable grasp of our extensive framework for regulation of financial services and it is this particular role that equips him uniquely for the role of Chief Minister, in my opinion.

2110 Since joining P&R myself our weekly meetings always contained a number of items relating to finance industry matters. They can be quite complex, often accompanied by advice from specialist law officers. That our economy relies so heavily upon the finance sector, with an increasing focus

upon the regulatory environment, means that his detailed knowledge in this area is a very substantial advantage for a Chief Minister.

2115 Again, as part of my involvement on P&R, I have attended a number of meetings specifically convened to monitor progress on Moneyval. Deputy Prow chairs these and I have been much impressed with his ability to direct and manage the diverse range of professionals who represent the various bodies, who collectively comprise our regulatory and tax structures. He is business-like in his management style and also very comfortable with quite complex detail. This is a considerable strength.

2120 He also represents us, on a regular basis, at high-level meetings with various other jurisdictions and he is completely at ease interfacing with senior politicians of all stripes. He is consequently very familiar with our External Affairs team and the range of activities they encompass. A Chief Minister needs to be very conscious of the confidential information that P&R regularly encounter as part of day to day business. As President of Home Affairs, with responsibility for our police and other security matters, he is no stranger to sensitive and confidential issues.

2125 In addition, he is also a permanent member of the CCA which, of course, is also chaired by the President of P&R. I have attended numerous President to President meetings and they can become quite vocal at times. Deputy Prow, to his credit, is always a voice of reason at such times and can often command attention amongst competing narratives without resorting to emotive language. He is very much a diplomat, which is essential for the role of Chief Minister, and I have absolutely no hesitation in recommending him for this position.

Thank you, sir.

2135 **The Bailiff:** Thank you very much and now I invite the candidate, Deputy Prow, to speak for up to 10 minutes, please. Deputy Prow.

Deputy Prow: Thank you, sir.

2140 It is a daunting undertaking and a great honour to be put forward for the role of President of P&R. First, I must thank my extremely able proposer, Deputy Murray, and my seconder, the Father of the House, the indomitable Deputy Gollop; I am humbled by their support. Normally I come to this Assembly well prepared; I believe it is my absolute duty to do so.

2145 However, today I stand here with trepidation and regret that we find ourselves where we are and the divisions that have manifested themselves, apparent for the whole world to see. So, sir, why am I standing here? Others are probably asking the same question, particularly my wife. *(Laughter)* Well, sir, I will tell you.

2150 I was educated here, I had a long career here, I married a fantastic local girl and had a lovely family. I have made some remarkable lifelong friends. I swam in our beautiful bays, played football. This Bailiwick is in my soul; etched in my DNA. Sir, it was all going so swimmingly, and then I became a politician. *(Laughter)*

2155 We have a very successful finance industry, which frankly feeds us all, and especially when the chips are down, we have a fantastic community spirit. These are all the things that drive me, but sadly, politically, we are currently pretty much broken. When things have gotten difficult, and they have in spades, we have become divided blaming others rather than rolling up our collective sleeves. We debate, but we do not complete and finish. For far too long this, and previous Assemblies are unable to rise to the challenges set; we must break this cycle.

2160 So, back to the question. In what remains of this term we must sort through the pile of rubble, start to build a stable foundation and put this jurisdiction right back where it belongs. Big task! Can I do it and exactly what will I do? Deputy Murray has very generously described me as a diplomat, a voice of reason, an experienced leader, a chair around the committee table with a collegiate work ethic both with political colleagues, third sector partners and our public servants.

Well, sir, so I should be after 43 years in public service and now some seven years as a States' Deputy. Do not worry, sir, I will not rehearse my CV. I have a strong track record; I can steady the

2165 ship and reset the dynamic but also, sir, I prepare thoroughly, listen intently, ask the questions and take the judgement calls and, importantly, see them to a conclusion.

Blame and backward looking is not my game; a waste of everybody's energy and, sir, I know when to say sorry. But those who know me understand I also possess a steely determination which particularly surfaces when I feel passionate about stuff. I often quote my school teacher mum in this Assembly, 'where there is a will, there is a way'.

2170 This Assembly must find that way. We must move out of the entrenched Committee and political silos and find common ground. We desperately need a period of stability in Government but we also need to embrace change in this Assembly and tackle those challenges that beset us. So what would I do?

2175 First, and very quickly, I will build a P&R team which reflects different political shades in the Assembly. I have come late to this particular game as I have focussed on the confidence I had in P&R. I have not completed all the political chats or corridor conversations as I believe others had. But, sir, I can move with speed and if successful I have a robust game plan. A very clear idea of the skills and attributes a new P&R would need and I have strong candidates in mind.

2180 I am a team player, I will delegate with trust and respect; trust and respect. This style has worked very successfully in my Committee. We have, sir, had the benefit of an outstanding Treasury Lead but I will find another and we do possess that talent in this Assembly. What then, are my priorities?

2185 Well, sir, the Moneyval evaluation. I have got that t-shirt already and we must, must maintain the vital and complex preparedness initiatives being done together with the other externally facing work streams and challenges. Tackling the housing shortage, but doing so in the round. Recruitment and skills, including resuscitating the Education Project, we all agreed. Let us get it off life support and engender a can do mindset with all stakeholders. We must finish this for the future of our incredible young people.

2190 Build a solid foundation for the next Assembly on our fiscal policy and overarching economic strategy. At least now we have a budget, but sadly, little money. Reform of Government, the last one is important; it cannot be left just the Assembly Committee. We need to reform Government in the round and very quickly.

2195 Again, let us build something out of the pile of political rubble I alluded to. This is an incremental process, not a revolutionary one. First, we need to immediately involve more States' Members giving them formal research roles enabling a whole range of views around these key issues. This all needs to dovetail into the public service structures, which also need reviewing.

2200 We need to think longer term. Let us dust off Advocate Harwood's report and debate a better, leaner structure. We just cannot cling on to our weird and wonderful Committee system in the form it is; it must devolve. P&R has a restricted mandate with no more influence over Government than other Committees working to their individual remits. It separates, in an unhealthy way, the back office functions of Government from the delivery end. It is crazy; it encourages silo mentality, it is the enemy of joined up Government. My determination is to facilitate change, but this will need the buy in and the input from the whole Assembly. We need to engage, discuss and listen. Let us have those difficult conversations but in an environment of respecting all views.

2205 So, can I deliver? Well, sir, I believe I can. I am a candidate with the current presidential experience. I am right in the mix of most of this. As Deputy Trott kindly mentioned in a press podcast, pretty much everything my Committee has put through the States has been approved, all achieved through teamwork. This also included the PIPR, a high level cross Committee review which I chaired and led through the Assembly. I am also a member of the CCA so I can meet an emergency with my feet running.

2210 Sir, in closing, I have to say I am very uncomfortable talking about myself, so I leave the Assembly with this thought: I am only here as the result of the previous motion, I had no prior ambition. I simply want to provide a viable and stable foundation for the next Assembly. Sir, I am what I say on the tin; no frills. I try to say it like it is without offence. I also possess a strong work ethic.

2215 There are many more skilled orators in this Assembly than I will ever be. However, I am not sure where long debates in the Assembly have got us. Oh, sir, and if you want entertainment go straight

to Deputy Inder. (*Laughter*) Sir, I will always give of my best deliver, delivered with decisiveness, commitment and passion.

Thank you, sir.

2220 **The Bailiff:** Thank you very much and now I am going to invite the proposer of Deputy Roffey, Deputy de Sausmarez, to speak for up to five minutes on Deputy Roffey.

Deputy de Sausmarez: Thank you, sir.

2225 I am delighted to nominate Deputy Roffey for the role of President of P&R. Deputy Roffey has been involved in Guernsey politics for longer, in chronological terms, than anyone else, having entered the Assembly in 1982 at the tender age of 23 which to this day is, I believe, the record for the youngest person ever to have been elected.

2230 He has an unparalleled experience across the States having worked in just about every single policy area. His leadership positions over the years include presidencies of Employment & Social Security and the States' Trading & Supervisory Board this time, of course, and previously the Board of Health for eight years, the Agriculture & Countryside Board, the States Assembly & Constitution Committee, Overseas Aid & the Equal Pay Investigation Committee and his vice presidencies include Housing, Ancient Monuments and the House Committee.

2235 His membership of and involvement with other Committees and Boards extends further than my patience to list them all. He has an incredibly comprehensive corporate knowledge, memory and understanding of Guernsey's political landscape over many decades and is well versed in politics more generally as well.

2240 That long, broad experience is never a more valuable asset than in times of change, challenge and uncertainty and now is just such a time. However, I am not nominating Deputy Roffey for this role just because of his impressive pedigree. I am nominating him primarily because I think his character and personal qualities are exactly what this Assembly needs at the helm right now.

2245 He is competent, collegiate, clever and an effective consensus builder. He is calm in a crisis, as ably demonstrated through his adept handling of the foot and mouth crisis of the early noughties when he was head of Agriculture & Countryside. To use a cricket analogy, he is a true team player and always plays the ball, not the man or woman; he is strikingly non-tribal.

2250 Although he has possibly the heaviest workload of anyone in the Assembly, he agreed to join the Tax Review Sub-Committee and engaged in that work with an open mind and honest objectiveness. Despite his deeply held views on GST, he helped develop a package that included it because he believed it was the best option. He then took a high profile role in promoting P&R's proposals, sometimes taking a higher profile lead on it than the Committee itself.

2255 Certainly I took reassurance from the fact that he was involved because there is no one, no one with a longer and stronger track record of fighting for the least fortunate members of our community. His sense of fairness is one of his standout qualities, something that anyone who has served with him on a Committee or Board will testify to.

2260 In addition, Deputy Roffey has an almost supernatural capacity for hard work. Now, I am someone who loves nothing more than having a full plate, both in terms of work and of food, in fact (*Laughter*) but Deputy Roffey has a mammoth appetite for work and an incredible ability to get stuff done; he has a truly admirable work ethic.

2265 I am sure people have an inkling of the volume he takes on through his Committee roles but Deputy Roffey is, and I hope he does not mind me describing him as such, an old school States' Member who on top of that shoulders a significant amount of constituency work as well. People know they can go to him for help and so they do and he works very hard on their behalf as well as on behalf of his Committees.

2265 He takes the same approach with colleagues. He is a democrat and a pragmatist who, I think, as the President of P&R will get the best out of our committee system of government. He is reliable he is knowledgeable he is eloquent and I would argue one of the best orators, not just of this States but of any Assembly that I can remember.

He is well liked, well respected and well known, both within our community and beyond our shores. More than anything else, he is a true Statesman who has the right blend of personal and professional qualities, the vision and the ability to see us through the remaining 18 important months of this political term as the President of the Policy & Resources Committee.

Thank you.

The Bailiff: And now I am going to invite Deputy Roffey to speak for up to 10 minutes. Deputy Roffey, please.

Deputy Roffey: Thank you, sir.

Logically any Member who voted in favour of the Motion of No Confidence in the former P&R simply because they had the temerity to put forward the tax package, which they did not just once but twice, should definitely not vote in favour of me today because I backed them on both occasions, genuinely believing it was in the best interests of our community. I still believe that.

That said, my instinct is not to bring back yet another major fiscal reform package before the current Assembly, not because it is not needed but because I think it would be futile. But nor would I propose to do nothing on this front for the remainder of this term, our public finances are simply too brittle for procrastination.

Members, we really are at 10 minutes to midnight when it comes to the difficult decisions needed on balancing our books while retaining decent services and infrastructure in the face of an ageing demographic. So the new Assembly is going to need to hit the ground running on this crucial issue.

With this in mind, I would propose working up a number of tax reform options for the new Assembly to inherit and put their own stamp on. Only then could any decision be taken early enough in the new term to actually be delivered within that term and that really is how it needs to work and where, with due respect, the former P&R possibly went wrong.

How would I draw up that range of tax templates to give to the new Assembly? Well, the process has to be politically led, obviously, but I would also seek to draw heavily on the private sector financial expertise which exists in abundance within our community. What else would a P&R led by me do for the rest of this term, just be a caretaker Committee sitting quietly out the next 18 months?

Not at all. While it is true that money is going to be too tight to mention there remains many really big gains that, with the right resolution and sense of co-operation, can be achieved. For instance, with P&R, DPA, E&I and STSB working hand in glove, the thorny issue mentioned this morning of inert waste disposal, which has festered on for far too long, could be put to bed. Done well, that would also release valuable industrial land to help drive economic growth, of which more in a moment.

Other issues, such as the future of Guernsey's farming industry and therefore of Guernsey's precious and dwindling countryside, could and should be put on a far firmer footing and this can be done with proper inter-Committee working. Now, I mentioned economic growth and that is the centre of my thinking but how to achieve it, particularly with a limited workforce?

The focus needs to be on maximising the economic participation of the people already in the Island, plus on productivity gains including those achieved through automation, mechanisation, robotics and digital solutions. Now, Members will be aware that I do not claim a great expertise in any of those areas, but what I do know is how to set other people free to make these things happen.

As for economic participation, I think there needs to be a triple focus making sure that childcare is there and sufficiently affordable to permit parents to continue working to the extent that they wish to. Positively encouraging and incentivising those, and this includes myself from last Friday, past states pension age to continue working and making sure that there are never any perverse incentives which encourage people to drop out of the workforce.

There are also positive projects we can invest in to stimulate economic growth. One of these, worked up by the STSB under my presidency is the proposed Pool Marina. Now, this can largely be funded by the Port's borrowing against the future income stream, but it does not quite stack up on that basis alone. So should we walk away from it?

2320 Of course not, that would be stupid, when Guernsey can derive genuine economic growth of the sort which ideally suits our Island community. So, the taxpayer needs to put some seed funding in which will be repaid back time and time again over the years' ahead. Sir, many have described our housing shortage as our biggest social problem, others think of it as our biggest economic problem.

2325 It is both of those things, but the process of solving it can also be a big driver of growth in our economy, if we can solve it. So how would I go about this? Well, the whole housing market is interconnected, but firstly I will talk about the Affordable Housing Development Programme. As ESS I inherited a dreadful situation when it comes to affordable housing. The sole supplier, over many years, had completely run out on places on which to build and that was a super tanker which it has taken a long time to turn.

2330 But I am confident that the Affordable Housing Programme is now in a position to start cranking up again after far too long a pause. It will still need yet more money and maybe some more land, given the big scale of the problem, but it is back on the starting blocks and ready to deliver and I pledge to work with whoever my successor may be at ESS to maintain that momentum and accelerate it.

2335 And what of the private sector delivering too? Well, to some extent that is the business of developers rather than the States but something, sir, is holding them back and it needs to be addressed. Some blame our planning system, but I am not sure about that. Yes, we can probably improve it and the review of the IDP opens up significant opportunities, but we know that very many planning permissions already exist, which do not seem to be being progressed.

2340 So it cannot be down to planning alone. Whether it is the capital being too expensive, capacity constraints or whatever, we need to understand the log-jam and overcome it. As P&R President, I pledge to work co-operatively with E&I, the DPA and developers and others in the industry to do just that.

2345 And, sir, we cannot possibly end this term without a clear plan to deliver fit for purpose buildings for our education system. Now, while the route to doing this may be inescapably linked to fiscal reform, which will be needed to provide the funds to allow it to happen, I do not think we can just park the issue for two years to 2026, when the next review of taxation is due. So, I pledge to make this a top priority; I think a way forward can be found.

2350 Another top priority is addressing how we provide the sort of social care an ever ageing population will require. People have said what is left to do in this Assembly? Well, I tell them it is SLAWS. It may be the most controversial project, but it is probably one of the most important. It is being driven, jointly, by three Committees P&R, ESS and HSC and particularly by the three Presidents of those Committees. It must not lose momentum; it is due to come to the States early next year. Changes at P&R risk doing that but if the new President of P&R is someone already steeped in this project, then those dangers are minimised.

2355 Finally, one of the main questions always asked, and maybe it will come up later, of any candidate for this job is if you are elected, who will be your team? Well, I can tell you that if I get my preferred choices then for the next 18 months P&R will be two things. (*Interjection*) Firstly, it will be a Committee steeped with political experience. (*Interjection*) Secondly, it will be a politically balanced Committee, two things which with the greatest respect, I think, were not necessarily quite right with the outgoing team.

2360 Absolutely, at the centre of my thinking would be a desire to move away, if at all possible, from the damaging toxicity that so many people have mentioned in the debate today. It really must end! So, here I stand and I humbly, well maybe not quite that humbly, (*Laughter*) offer up my services. I know I have got the experience for the job but I believe I have got the political skills for it as well.

2365 I have, as my proposer said, a proven track record of building and leading teams and that is what I think is really needed, not just at P&R, but team States of Guernsey. If I become President of P&R expect me, at your invitation, to be present at any large policy discussion within your Committee so I understand the policy issues you are facing and I can carry out the proper role of P&R, which is coordinating it, bringing it together and making it work.

Will that be a heck of a lot of bits of work going around doing that? It will be, but I hope Members realise by now if there is one thing I am not shy of it is hard work. So, I think I am the right person for the job, if you do too then please vote for me, but if not, well that is okay too. (*Laughter*)

2375 **The Bailiff:** Thank you very much and I will now turn to the proposer of Deputy Trott, Deputy Fairclough, to speak for up to five minutes about Deputy Trott, please.

Deputy Fairclough: Thank you, sir.

2380 As anyone who knows me from my short time in politics understands I like to take my time when considering issues before taking a position on them. But when Deputy Trott contacted me to ask if I would nominate him for the position of Chief Minister, I had no hesitation in saying yes and that is for two reasons.

2385 Firstly, because, as he will testify, it was something I was giving thought to at the exact moment he contacted me and secondly, because, as I had concluded only moments earlier, he is simply the best candidate for the job. So, why do I say that? Well, Deputy Trott has been a Member of the States for approaching 24 consecutive years and during that time I have followed his career from both near and far.

2390 Between 2000 and 2004, as he learned the ropes as a Member of the Board of Administration and Board of Industry, I sat at the same boardroom table as him, as a project manager for the then Department of Engineering. In those days, the Board of Admin was under the presidency of former Conseiller and Deputy Roger Berry and what a politician under whom to serve your political apprenticeship. (**A Member:** Hear, hear.) Yes, there used to be such rites of passage.

2395 Deputy Trott was the first politician to come and visit me in the BBC States' studio, as I learned my trade as a political reporter, because that is the sort of person he is. And, of course, it was not long before he was moving onwards and upwards through the political ranks to become Treasury Minister in 2004 and then Chief Minister in 2008.

2400 As Treasury Minister, he delivered Zero-10 with the team, demonstrating his skill and gaining experience in delivering complex tax policies through extensive community engagement. Amongst his achievements; presenting four consecutive annual budgets to the Assembly without amendment and overseeing the most significant period of infrastructure investment in our Island since the occupation, how times change.

2405 He was elected Chief Minister in 2008. He has proven international experience, including giving evidence on our behalf in front of the UK Parliament Treasury Select Committee during the then banking crisis, alongside the Chief Ministers of Jersey and the Isle of Man. He held together a Policy Council of 11 Members, no mean feat, during a four year term facing many challenges including industrial action, international tax transparency compliance and budget challenges.

2410 As Vice President of the Policy & Resources Committee between 2016 and 2020, he led the team that set up, from scratch during the first COVID lockdown, an economic support package crucial in protecting the fabric of our commercial community. Outside of politics, he has been a most able Chairman of Guernsey Finance for the last eight years and a member of the CITI UK Leadership Council for the last six. He has also been an independent trustee of the CPA Trust Funds from 2019 to date and was a Director of Elizabeth College for 12 years.

2415 Deputy Trott is a graduate of the Institute of Directors Company Direction Program and Fellow of the Institute of Leadership, having recently completed the Certificate in Strategic Policy Planning and, Members, it is leadership we need now. (**A Member:** Hear, hear.) So that is Deputy Trott, the politician and consummate business professional, but what about the personality behind the politics?

2420 Well, I have had many conversations with Deputy Trott down the years and, to my mind, his understanding and sense of local politics is second to none. Clearly one of the most experienced Members of the current Assembly and to my mind, Members, that counts for a lot in the predicament we currently find ourselves and crucially and critically, he is able and feels able to work with all and offer a bridge across the various factions and divisions in the Assembly.

Next year we have the crucial Moneyval inspection and if there is anyone I would want as Chief Minister to lead us during this crucial time, it is Deputy Trott. At a time when the biggest challenge facing us is in our public finances there simply is not a better candidate, in my opinion, and I believe that he will reaffirm what many of us believe is the top priority for the Assembly for the remainder of this political term, addressing the housing shortage, something he is passionate about.

Deputy Lyndon Trott is a man of the people, for the people and there are not many I would describe in that way. In the nearly three decades I have been following Guernsey politics he has tried, tested and trusted and I urge Members to support him to become our new Chief Minister.

Thank you, sir.

The Bailiff: And I now turn to Deputy Trott to speak for up to 10 minutes, please. Deputy Trott.

Deputy Trott: Sir, Members of the States, three weeks ago was the 60th anniversary of 22nd November, 1963, the date my parents learned they were expecting their first child. Sadly, it also marks the assassination of the President of the United States at the time, John Fitzgerald Kennedy and the swearing in of Lyndon Baines Johnson.

Now, as many of you know, that is why I was given the name Lyndon and I mention this for one reason only, in the first interview President Kennedy gave following his election to the question 'How are things?' he famously said:

My problem is things are every bit as bad as I said they were.

Now, that observation is as relevant here in Guernsey today as it was then for him. Our developed political divisions and our inability to find consensus on some of our crucial policies is a major issue. So it is an auspicious day and perhaps, unusually for me, I am facing the next few minutes in which I have to address you with some trepidation. Trepidation because I genuinely believe that there are at least five Members of this Assembly who I regard as better choices than me for this role.

In fact, one of them is up here this afternoon. Now, that is not something you will hear a candidate for political office say every day. However, I also believe that my personal style and approach to public service, together with my experience, makes me the candidate with the best chance of being able to bring this Assembly together over the next 18 months.

Now, I think most of you believe me when I say that I am not a candidate today out of any sense of ambition; that ship sailed years ago but I do, nonetheless, feel a compelling sense of duty. Now, you have heard why my name has been put forward and why my proposer and seconder believe that my background, nearly 24 years States' experience and perhaps uniquely for these equally unique times, my time served as Treasury Minister and then Chief Minister may be of value in these testing circumstances and, sir, make no mistake that these are very testing times, and whoever is elected President of Policy & Resources will need to approach the remaining 18 months with real pragmatism.

Let me explain how I view matters. When I stood for election at the last two general elections, it was on the basis that my time and performance in public life meant that I was tried, tested, and I hoped, trusted. While trust today is a scarce commodity and you would be hard pressed to find a voter in the street right now who has much trust or confidence in Government because of the inability of this Assembly to come together on some of the most serious challenges we face.

Now, trust, sir, manifests itself in different ways. As Deputy Ferbrache himself said, 'You can trust Lyndon never to stab you in the back, it will always be in the chest,' (*Laughter*) and, Members, in political terms compliments are rarely more profound.

Sir, it is clear to us all that now is not the time for bloodletting; quite the reverse in fact. We actually need some healing. But the point Deputy Ferbrache alluded to then is especially relevant for today, that my approach is direct, to the point and professional. I do not play political games. What you see is what you get and, again, Deputy Ferbrache said in our meeting on Monday morning, 'I know Lyndon is a straight person'. I am grateful to him for that.

So the obvious next question is, 'What would I do if elected as President of the Policy & Resources Committee? How would I, and the next Committee, go about healing some of the undoubted divisions we have experienced?' Well, firstly I used the word healing deliberately as I believe there needs to be a coming together of this Assembly and that healing, that coming together will, in my view, sir, be greatly assisted if this Assembly is able to demonstrate a clear majority vote in favour of whoever they decide to elect as the next President of Policy & Resources.

And secondly, you will not hear me criticise the outgoing Committee or its Members. I did not speak in the Motion of No Confidence debate because they did what they thought best for the Island or, you will not hear me criticise them for pursuing their flagship fiscal policies with determination. I do, however, believe that if that determination had developed earlier, then we may not be in the position today and they are aware of my views on that, as are you all.

So what does success look like over the next few months? Well, happily, the fundamentals are sound. The economy remains strong, unemployment is low, GDP is strong fuelled by financial services and wages are rising. So by all the conventional tests we should be in a good place, but as we all know, it does not feel like that. For a large number of Islanders, perhaps even a majority, these are not happy times and we see here and sense that discontent.

The acute shortage of affordable housing is a crisis. Yes, it is driving away our young people; yes it is preventing Guernsey couples from getting a place of their own and, worse, starting families. That same shortage of affordable accommodation is also preventing businesses from getting the essential staff they need to help this Bailiwick continue to prosper and as you on Committees know better than anyone, it is also holding back the States of Guernsey in providing the essential services so many rely upon.

So we must all manage public sector spending tightly, knowing that the best taxation is the tax which naturally flows into our coffers from good quality economic growth. Growth which can only be delivered and sustained, if we can provide more housing for our young people so they do not have to flee the Island to start families and so businesses can also attract the people they need.

In short, housing not finances is the number one priority for this Assembly and for the Islanders we represent and, sir, this Assembly electing me as President of Policy & Resources would be a clear and tangible sign that States' Members continue to recognise that fact, will focus hard on it and are determined to make life better for ordinary Islanders.

The new P&R has to be a true facilitator, bringing together demand, supply, capacity and planning in a coherent way so that Islanders can see that there is a solution, that they can have hope of affordable homes and, that word again, they can trust Government to look after their interests.

The second priority for the new President of Policy & Resources is the economy. Yes, it is sound but struggling with a lack of staff and its main driver, financial services, faces a major international evaluation by Moneyval of its ability to combat all forms of economic crime. Now, this will be a serious test. Not passing, getting grey listed or worse, will bring an entirely new and unwelcome set of challenges for this Island. A negative outcome could derail much of the investment in our infrastructure.

Sir, my career in the sector, the Chairmanship of Guernsey Finance and the recently announced appointment for a second term as Independent Trustee of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association Trust Funds means I am very well placed with sufficient depth of knowledge to help lead Guernsey's response to the close questioning we will receive from the Moneyval inspectors. After all, I have been through one before and I believe I am the only Member of the Assembly who has had that experience in our senior leadership role.

The third priority is looking with the Committee for Economic Development & Education, Sport & Culture at what more can be done in the short term to lift our economic performance from increasing productivity to getting people back into the workforce. And why are all forms of economic stimulus so important? Well, I will tell you, a 1% increase in our GDP generates an additional £8 million of tax. A 2% increase in our GDP is the equivalent of an extra penny on the basic rate of personal Income Tax.

The Bailiff: Deputy Trott, I am afraid that your 10 minutes are now up.

Deputy Trott: Are you sure, sir, because in rehearsal it was nine minutes and 34 seconds?
(Laughter)

The Bailiff: I am as sure as I can be. Now, Members of the States, there is going to be a period of 60 minutes of questioning. As I explained before, no question can last more than 30 seconds, what I did not explain, but I am sure that the four candidates know anyway, is that no answer can be longer than one minute.

So it is quick fire questions, quick fire answers, the shorter your question, the shorter the answers, the more people will get the opportunity to ask a question. So, let me pick two names to start with. So the first question will be Deputy Leadbeater and the second question will be Deputy Kazantseva-Miller and then each time I will draw another name to forewarn the second person who will ask the question to follow. So I am going to start the clock very shortly and I will invite Deputy Leadbeater to ask the first question, please.

Deputy Leadbeater: Thank you, sir.

Could the candidates tell me how they propose to address the current impasse with the Transforming Education Partnership?

The Bailiff: Deputy Parkinson.

Deputy Parkinson: Yes, sir. In my opening remarks, I mentioned that I believe the Pillar Two tax charges, which we will be levying from 2025, will produce a lot more tax than the £10 million-£15 million which Ernst & Young estimate and if it produced, I do not know what the number will be but I believe it could be tens of millions even more than the £10 million-£15 million, then the first priority for that extra money would be to fund the TEP.

The Bailiff: Deputy Prow.

Deputy Prow: Thank you, sir.

A very good question, something where this Assembly has agreed the importance of the TEP and I believe in the arrangements that we have already agreed there is flexibility and there is an ability to fund. The issue is getting agreement in this Assembly and this goes on my theme of where there is a will, there is a way. We need to get everybody, again, together and to look at the options that we already have available to us because this is absolutely so vital to for our young people. The answers are there it is the will of this Assembly that we have to win over.

Thank you, sir.

The Bailiff: Deputy Roffey.

Deputy Roffey: I think it requires compromise. We did not raise enough money at the tax debate in order to fund, actually either the Hospital or the schools, and the dilemma is we know both needs to be done and what I have said to ESC, and I am continuing to talk to them, is that I think we should probably phase the scheme and the absolutely most urgent is replacing some of the appalling facilities at the Guernsey Institute, is living in at the moment. So I would look to phase it.

We still, technically, are spending beyond our means but the dilemma is we know we have appallingly let down the young people but we have not raised enough money to be able to go and spend an extra £111 million, so let us do one phase now and look to do the next, hopefully, when we raise more money very early in the next Assembly.

The Bailiff: Deputy Trott.

Deputy Trott: Well, the answer to Deputy Leadbeater's question is that we had some fantastic news on Monday, that our 2022 GDP had been revised upwards by 4%. At any other time that will translate into potentially an extra £30 million worth of tax revenue. So right now, it seems to me that we are understating the strength of our fiscal position and that may be one way of addressing this problem.

But as I said, when we were debating this, a solution has to be found and I can assure you that if elected to the position the very first P&R Committee agenda will have, at the top of the list, how do we deal with this problem, because it is simply not acceptable.

We are well aware of the fact that our community views it accordingly but I cannot give you a complete answer to that because I do not know, at this stage, what the P&R Committee will look like and, indeed, how it will collectively wish to address the issue, but it will be a very high priority for me.

The Bailiff: Second question, Deputy Kazantseva-Miller, to be followed by Deputy Haskins.

Deputy Kazantseva-Miller: Thank you, sir.

What do you consider to be the biggest lessons you have learnt being a politician that you will take forward if you are elected to deliver against a significant mandate of Policy & Resources? Thank you.

The Bailiff: Deputy Prow.

Deputy Prow: Thank you, sir.

Absolutely fundamental for me is teamwork and taking people with you and using all the mechanisms that are available, and there are many mechanisms available, and have those difficult conversations and then move forward as a team; complete and finish, that is my that is my mantra. Thank you, sir.

The Bailiff: Deputy Roffey.

Deputy Roffey: The biggest I suppose is focusing on, I do not know everything, actually nor does anybody else, and that we have to tap into our hive intelligence and that does require working together. Not just being nice to each other but, as I mentioned in my opening speech, understanding each other's policy agendas and how they can properly work together, because I am a big defender of our Committee system, but the role of P&R is supposed to be the co-ordinating role which draws all of those Committee agendas together and makes sure that they coalesce in a way that they are reinforcing each other rather than arguing against each other. So I think policy coordination is key. It is the big lesson that I have learnt.

The Bailiff: Deputy Trott.

Deputy Trott: The much admired and missed Deputy Jones once said that there is nothing more dangerous than a politician with ambition and as you have heard me say, I do not have any political ambition to do this job outside of the need for a desire to do public service. He also said, be careful to never give a leader the job if you think he wants it too desperately.

So, I say that really as a precursor to what I know Deputy Kazantseva-Miller is probably going to want to hear, keeping the economy strong has got to be a number one priority, whatever way that we approach that, because without a strong economy we have a whole set of other problems that make discussions on the agenda around everything else increasingly difficult, if not impossible to deliver. So, I hope that answer is to her liking, sir.

The Bailiff: Deputy Parkinson.

2630 **Deputy Parkinson:** Well, in the Guernsey context of consensus government, obviously the main priority is to try and keep every ship in the convoy pointing in the same direction, or as many as possible, and that is where this Assembly has manifestly failed. If we can coalesce around a general program and then work together towards common goals then we will make some progress, but while we are all sailing in different directions, we will not.

2635 **The Bailiff:** So the next questioner is Deputy Haskins and he is going to be followed by Deputy Gollop. Deputy Haskins.

Deputy Haskins: Thank you, sir.

2640 Candidates say that housing is the main priority, but some candidates have said that this Island will never get below the 15 to one house price to earnings ratio. How does each candidate propose to bring this down to a sensible ratio for the entire Island?

The Bailiff: Deputy Roffey.

2645 **Deputy Roffey:** I am sorry; I confess I did not catch every word there. How are we going to make the housing situation better, I think was basically what Deputy Haskins was asking but if I missed it, there was some noise around, can he repeat it?

2650 **Deputy Haskins:** Sir, I will repeat the question. Candidates say that housing is the main priority, but some candidates have said that this Island will never get below the 15 to one house price earnings ratio. How does each candidate propose to bring this down to a sensible ratio for the entire Island, i.e. not just affordable?

Thank you.

2655 **Deputy Roffey:** One of those political dilemmas, I mean, because it is supply and demand, but everybody that I speak to wants the ratio of earnings to housing costs to come down for their daughter and their son, but largely the way to do that is to lower the value of properties, because our wages are not suddenly going to skyrocket and therefore they then get very upset when you tell them that your principal asset probably needs to be worth less as a result. But the simple answer is supply and demand and that is what has to be tackled in all quarters of the housing market.

The Bailiff: Deputy Trott.

2665 **Deputy Trott:** Sir, I do not want to correct my friend, Deputy Haskins, but actually the problem is even worse than he suggests because average earnings to average house prices is a multiple of 16, not 15. But the answer to his question is just before we went into this Motion of No Confidence process the former Treasury Lead, Deputy Helyar, said to me 'would you consider being the housing tsar, someone who sort of woke up every morning and thought about housing, notwithstanding the fact that there are Committee mandates, but across that, and went to bed every night thinking about the housing problem'? And, I never had the chance to give him an answer but I think he knew what it was going to be. The answer was yes, because I do not think we have given the matter the attention it deserves and the issue is one of supply. Demand will not go away, we are simply not building enough houses and that process has got to be affordable houses; that process has got to be accelerated as an absolute priority.

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The Bailiff: Deputy Parkinson.

2680 **Deputy Parkinson:** Yes, supply and demand determines the price of everything. So there are two ways of bringing the price of housing down. One is to collapse the demand and the other is to increase the supply. Now, I do not hear anybody saying we should collapse the economy, for example, to bring demand down, so we must increase the supply and I think the States need to be more proactive in the private housing market in creating more supply for the market, not just social housing, but intermediate layers of housing as well.

2685 **The Bailiff:** Deputy Prow.

Deputy Prow: Thank you, sir.

2690 A really good, focused, question. We have spoken about the role the GTA, the DPA, E&I, P&R and when we talk about affordable housing we have not even properly defined what we mean, what we are talking about, but I think the ratio question is a very good question, because we have got to tackle this problem and complete and finish what we have done.

2695 We are discussing it and there are various groups that have come together, but we have not come up with a complete answer. Yes, supply, we absolutely have to build more houses and Government has to support that and it is about private housing and that situation, engaging with the construction industry. But also on the affordable front, we need to look at other jurisdictions and how they can incentivise, through tax and other methods, to make it more available.

2700 **The Bailiff:** Deputy Prow, I am afraid your time is up on that one. So Deputy Gollop's question will be followed by one by Deputy Blin. Deputy Gollop.

Deputy Gollop: Thank you, sir.

2705 One candidate in their opening has already mentioned Policy & Resources involvement with SLAWS, but would the candidates like to outline why they consider changing some of the rules relating to affording residential and nursing care will be a priority for the next 18 months?

The Bailiff: Deputy Trott.

2710 **Deputy Trott:** Okay, that is a very broad question. I think one of the solutions that are being proposed is that people use part of the equity in their property in order to fund their long term care. I have to say, I have real issues with this because, for me, this is an issue that dis-incentivises home ownership and the effort that hard working families put in over people who have decided, for whatever reason, not to commit to a mortgage and the sacrifices that those involved over the duration of their working lives.

2715 But I have not reached a firm decision on that, because I am as acutely aware as anyone in this Assembly of the difficulties the funding gaps that we have and the cost of the SLAWS programme. But I lay down that marker that I think it is very, very important that we treat people fairly and that is a classic example.

2720 **The Bailiff:** Deputy Trott, Your time is up, I am afraid. Deputy Parkinson.

2725 **Deputy Parkinson:** Yes, well, investment in residential and nursing care does make sense for the States because it reduces demand for hospital accommodation and bed blocking in the Hospital and clearly investment in our health service is already very expensive and if we can replace beds in the Hospital with beds at home, where patients would on the whole rather be, then it makes sense to invest in that area. I have not got anything more to say on that because I have not been involved with the Health Committee but I see the direction of travel and I support it.

2730 **The Bailiff:** Deputy Prow.

Deputy Prow: Thank you, sir.

Yes, it is, it is a broad question and Deputy Gollop has drawn it to our attention. It is a very important piece of work. I too have great reservations around releasing equity and there is a whole range of arguments, not least, public opinion and resistance to it. I did attend the presentation; it is not something that I have been embedded in, but one of the things that strikes me is it seems to be very fiscally focused. I would like to see more about actually what we can provide in this arena around ageing well and supporting those people that need it.

Thank you, sir.

The Bailiff: Deputy Roffey.

Deputy Roffey: Well, it is fiscally focused because we need to stimulate growth in the sector because we know demand; we know demographically demand for this sort of care is going to grow enormously over the next 20 or 30 years. But the other big issue, as was approved in the last Assembly, was at the moment there is a perverse assistance for people that go into residential nursing care but without the same sort of assistance for people who want to stay in their own home and be supported there.

Well the present scheme, as constituted, cannot take on that extra burden unless something changes to create that money. It is a little bit akin to the tax debate, when we come to this I suspect people will want all of the goodies (*Interjection*) and none of the difficult decisions about how to fund them, but it has to drop one way or the other. We either provide that sort of care, which I think actually most people in the community would prefer if they can to stay at home, and we then have to stump up that extra cost or we do not do it. You know, we have to have a dose of realism there.

The Bailiff: And after Deputy Blin's question, it will be Deputy Oliver. So Deputy Blin next, please.

Deputy Blin: Thank you, sir.

Could I hear from the candidates how they would, basically leadership and time, how you would propose to work collegiately, strengthen consensus, build trust and also what will you do with your existing current roles, (*Interjection*) if you are elected?

The Bailiff: Deputy Parkinson.

Deputy Parkinson: Well, taking the second question first, I am Deputy President or Vice-President of the States' Trading Supervisory Board and if I am elected to this position someone else will have to step into that position. But in terms of leadership, how would I make this work? We need a more collegiate approach and I think my objective would be to build a broad based team and just be more open to communication and ideas from outside the group. So, I have worked in large corporations before, I know about managing in big organisations; this is stuff I do.

The Bailiff: Deputy Prow.

Deputy Prow: Thank you, sir.

I think the question around leadership is absolutely key and, from my perspective, it is about working in Committee, it is about working across Committee and it is about using all the very many mechanisms; the President of Presidents Forum, but it is about engendering that trust the question implies and that is the skills that, I think, that the a successful candidate must deploy. I completely agree that we need to engage more people in the Assembly, who are not Members of Committees, and give them proper roles and proper mechanisms to actually engage. It is easy for me to say, harder to do, but that is what we absolutely need to do.

The Bailiff: Your minute is up I am afraid, Deputy Prow. So Deputy Roffey, please.

Deputy Roffey: I would always support and never undermine Committee mandates. I want to unleash the power of people on the Committees to discharge their mandates and I would like, as I have said in my opening, to actually take an interest in the policy they are developing as it goes along, not sit there in Soldiers Bay waiting till they have developed a policy letter and then almost test them as if they brought their thesis forward to see whether or not it stands up.

I want to understand it and work with them. You said, 'what about movement?' Well it depends on who gets elected to various positions, but one thing I would do and I do not want to embarrass him because he may not want it, but if I was no longer president of STSB, the first person I would ask if I could put him forward would be Deputy Ferbrache, because he would hit the ground running with experience and we know he has ability there, but also just to show it is time this States started working across all of its wings that we all know exist, even though we all deny that they do.

The Bailiff: Deputy Trott, please.

Deputy Trott: Sir, I do not currently have a ... *[Inaudible]* to finance. I have learnt in my career, both my commercial career and my political career, that leadership is many things but trust and integrity, and I would argue the likeability factor if you have it, can go a long way. But the thing that I have learnt from my commercial interests, in particular, is that really where the big differences between that and politics.

In my commercial interests you put the very best people; if at all possible, you give them the right mandate based on their skills. There are people in this Assembly who are underutilised, who are some of the best I have ever worked with and there are people in this Assembly that have got very strong views and a lot of ideas and momentum in a particular area who are being underutilised. Getting square pegs in square holes, getting the best out of the people in this Assembly is one way to heal those divisions.

The Bailiff: And after Deputy Oliver the next question will be Deputy Dyke. Deputy Oliver, please.

Deputy Oliver: Thank you, sir.

What are your top three things that you hope to achieve in the next 18 months?

The Bailiff: Deputy Prow.

Deputy Prow: Well, I set that out in my main speech. I think there are things that we absolutely need to complete and finish. We have talked about the TEP; that is an absolute fundamental for me. We have got to get Moneyval over the line; that has been well articulated, and housing, housing, housing.

Thank you, sir.

The Bailiff: Deputy Roffey.

Deputy Roffey: Crumbs, only three! I mean housing goes without saying, so that is not one of the three. *(Laughter)* SLAWS, absolutely, the last States bottled it at the last moment but we cannot. Finding a way forward on the Educational Programme to, at least, start it even if we cannot afford all of it now. It is a bit wishy-washy and it has been referred to all sorts of times today, but really stopping politics being a blood sport, I think, is probably my top priority.

The Bailiff: Deputy Trott.

Deputy Trott: Sir, Deputy Oliver was quite right, I think, to ask 'what are your top three priorities' because I think if the States tries to do many more than that it will suffer from the congestion and the difficulties that previous Assemblies, and this one, have suffered from. To answer her question,

2835 significant advances in house builds; measurable proper, you know 300 plus, if we can pull it off a year, which is after all what our strategic policy is.

2840 A successful Moneyval outcome, as I said in my speech, because if we do not get it our problems are going to change for the worse and strong and sustainable economic growth. What is wrong in us trying for 4% per annum GDP growth like we are told we managed in 2022 and we did that through the hard work of Guernsey Finance and others within the promotional side of our financial services industry, because that is where the growth came from and that is where the growth will continue to come from.

The Bailiff: Deputy Parkinson.

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Deputy Parkinson: Top three priorities; we have only got 18 months left, we need to focus and get on with things that can be achieved in 18 months. So, my three would be fund the TEP, build more affordable housing and get the economy growing and diversify it, if that is not four. So there you are.

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The Bailiff: After Deputy Dyke it will be Deputy Cameron, but Deputy Dyke's question, please.

Deputy Dyke: Thank you, sir.

2855 Could I ask my esteemed colleagues what plans and thoughts they have in terms of stopping and eventually reversing what appears to be a relentless rise, still, in managerial positions in the Civil Service and we have seen more advertisements in the press recently.

Thank you.

The Bailiff: Deputy Roffey.

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Deputy Roffey: One of the problems in answering that is actually there has been virtually no growth whatsoever in the Civil Service net of those involved in Health & Social Care, so that is where the growth has come from. Having said that, given that the growth is happening there, we have to find ways of actually cutting down on posts elsewhere, I do not believe in a slash and burn approach. 2865 I do believe a lot of this has to do with IT systems. We heard from Deputy Murray this morning in his speech the problems with that but that needs to be resolved as a matter of priority so we can go down the Estonian route, if you like, of actually being able to provide top quality services in the leanest possible way.

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The Bailiff: Deputy Trott

Deputy Trott: In many respects, this is one of the tougher questions we have faced this afternoon because the truth is the public sector is not bloated and, of course, if one focuses in on reducing the managerial positions, specifically, the problem you then have is you have not got the 2875 future leaders of the public sector and whilst we all know that we take the occasional credit and much of the brickbats for the problems that are faced in Government, the better the Civil Service we have, the better the outcomes as a general rule.

So I think one has got to be really careful on how one deals with that sort of middle management. They need to be incentivised properly to stay in the service and develop within the service but I 2880 think, notwithstanding that, there is a widespread view, within our community, that there are too many of them. So I think a thorough review of that band would probably be a worthwhile starting point, but I think we have got to be careful not to.

The Bailiff: I am sorry, Deputy Trott. Deputy Parkinson, please.

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Deputy Parkinson: Well we employ in total, I think, about 5,500 people. About half of those are employed in Health; about 1,700 are employed in Education, if I remember correctly. So, the number of people who are actually, what the public consider to be, civil servants is actually quite small. There needs to be middle managers because otherwise the structure cannot work properly and tasks cannot be delegated down to the lowest efficient level at which they can be achieved. So I am always conscious of staff numbers; I introduced the Transformation Programme, which made a big effort, but it is not easy to do and people think the problem is much bigger than it is.

The Bailiff: Deputy Prow.

Deputy Prow: The assumptions that are contained in the question have already been challenged but it is a good question and to some degree, I think, it is self-regulating because we have a thrust for savings and we must deliver on that savings portfolio. So that, I think, in itself helps to self-regulate.

What I, and the Committee of Home Affairs, have done is ask particularly the bigger employers to review their target operating models and that means the professionals themselves see what their staffing resources are and how they are best placed to deliver and if you have got too many middle managers and you want more people on the ground floor that is, again, self-regulating. So it is through reviewing target operating models that, I think, is how I would approach the challenge.

The Bailiff: Time is up, Deputy Prow. So, after Deputy Cameron it will be Deputy Moakes. Deputy Cameron's question, please.

Deputy Cameron: Thank you, sir.

Most of my questions have been answered. So could I ask, what is your greatest characteristic that sets you apart from the previous Chief Minister? (*Laughter*)

The Bailiff: Deputy Trott.

Deputy Trott: Well, I mean, my view is that Deputy Ferbrache has a number of very good characteristics, including his lifelong support of the top Premier League team by far I refer, of course, to Tottenham Hotspur. Look, the truth is, in reality, Deputy Ferbrache and I are very similar characters.

I mean, neither of us are shrinking violets and both of us have got pretty thick skins and one of his qualities that I do, genuinely, respect is his ability to soak up criticism. I know how that feels, because having been a former Chief Minister it can get incredibly oppressive on occasions. But I think my biggest distinguishing factor is any ego that I had, any ambition that I had, within politics for self furtherment has long gone. I mean, I am a candidate here today because I believe that I have the right skills, not for any other reason.

The Bailiff: Deputy Trott, I am afraid your time is up. So, Deputy Parkinson, please.

Deputy Parkinson: Well, the question does not really relate to the mandate of Policy & Resources but, nevertheless, I will try and answer it. I think I am very much an ideas person and very much a policy person and possibly rather weak, relatively, on personalities and that side of politics. But I do believe I have, perhaps, a little more vision as to what Guernsey could be and certainly the drive to try and make it better. So I dislike playing these games, but that, I think, is where our differences lie.

The Bailiff: Deputy Prow.

Deputy Prow: Thank you, sir.

Well, I am not a lawyer and I do not charge by the hour, (*Laughter*) so that is the main difference. We all have different styles and we all have our strengths and weaknesses and what I would say is the exercise we are doing now is to choose a new Chief Minister and to take us through to the next 18 months.

Thank you, sir.

The Bailiff: And, Deputy Roffey.

Deputy Roffey: Well, sir, I have got an endorsed toilet, so I suppose that is a good starting point. (*Laughter*) But seriously, I am not really going to answer this question. People can judge how I am different to Deputy Ferbrache; all two individuals are different. But it is really asking you to distinguish from an outgoing person to say, how the new team will be better and that just sucked us straight back into the negativity; this team is better than that team, I am not going to do it. Sorry.

The Bailiff: So, after Deputy Moakes it will be Deputy Queripel. Deputy Moakes' question, please.

Deputy Moakes: Thank you, sir.

As you all know, I regularly stand up and tell everyone that housing, both private and social by the way or the lack of it, is the biggest local issue facing our Island at this time, both from a social and an economic perspective. Sir, I think all of the candidates recognise that we must build more homes, but please can I ask them to tell us how they will go about it and how we will be able to judge or measure their success? Could they perhaps give us three KPIs that they would use, whereby in 12 months and then 18 months' time, we could see where they were?

The Bailiff: Deputy Moakes, that will be a question. Deputy Parkinson.

Deputy Parkinson: Well, I have said already that I believe the States need to, more actively, intervene in the private housing market and the way we can do that, mostly, is by providing land because the States is one of the biggest landowners on the Island. Now, I think we should be prepared to make available States owned land for private house development under some kind of covenant arrangement which says that either the price of the house may not increase beyond RPIX, or whatever measure going forward, or under some kind of options arrangement whereby if the purchaser ever decides to sell the house they have to offer it back to the States. There must be some legal mechanism around the problem but providing the land, which is the major portion of the cost of a house in Guernsey, would be a massive step towards getting the affordable housing.

The Bailiff: Deputy Prow.

Deputy Prow: I think Key Performance Indicators is a very good question because on the question of performance indicators we all seem to know what the problems are with housing but we are slow to deliver them. So we need to build more houses; absolutely we do, but we need the mix, we need this in the round and we also need to really grasp this question of affordable. How can we make houses more affordable, particularly for young people? So, I think it has got to be a collegiate effort and we really need to set out our stall and actually be able to measure it against our successes.

Thank you, sir.

The Bailiff: Deputy Roffey.

Deputy Roffey: I think the States have recently set the KPI s when they approved the Housing Needs Index and that is what we have to work against and, to be honest, it is a heck of a stiff

2990 challenge because the figures in there are going to be really, really hard to achieve. If I became
President of P&R one of the first things I want a briefing on is where we are on Leale's Yard, not just
because of the 110 units that P&R want to buy, but the potential to release more than 300
altogether.

2995 But at the risk of losing Deputy Brouard's vote, I personally would not make a site of 110 units,
so distant from the Hospital, exclusively key worker housing. I think we should look for more sites
close to the Hospital and start to use some of those units for Mrs Le Page's sons and daughters as
well because we really have to start shifting.

The Bailiff: Deputy Trott.

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Deputy Trott: I think there are two KPIs and I think there is one relevant comment. The first is
we have a strategic target of 300 units and yet we know we have fallen, woefully, short of that year
after year after year. The second thing is, I think because we are at a crisis point I would unblock as
many hurdles to private investors as we can. I think other policies clearly have not worked and we
need to make the route in front of as clear as possible.

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Thirdly, and I really do mean this, we need to say what we mean and mean what we say because
we debate in this Assembly, we say that housing is our number one priority and then the very next
day something else crops up and we will never get out of this unless we mean what we say and we
build the number of houses that are needed, to not only bring down this absurd earnings to value
ratio, but importantly, enable the expansion within financial services that fuels the growth in this
economy.

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The Bailiff: So, after Deputy Queripel it will be Deputy Gabriel. Deputy Queripel's question,
please.

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Deputy Queripel: P&R are mandated to advise on the implications of other Committees policies
and activities. So with that in mind, if elected, will you be doing anything to champion the arts and
sport as economic enablers and, if so, what will you be doing?

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The Bailiff: Deputy Prow.

Deputy Prow: Thank you, sir.

Absolutely, arts and sports are extremely important. The issues are around our limited ability and
our limited funding to be able to resource what we would like to do. But certainly what we have got
is an excellent third sector and sports organisations and it is through them, and supporting them,
and meaningful support for them that I think we can we can make progress.

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Thank you, sir.

The Bailiff: Deputy Roffey.

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Deputy Roffey: I will be honest, I am passionate about sports and the arts but I believe our
inability to make a responsible decision over public finances is going to make it really difficult to
crank up very significantly public support for the sports and arts. So I think maybe we need to be
innovative.

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I mean, our neighbours down in Jersey, I hate to quote them, but when big developers do a big
development there is something called the 'percentage for the arts' that they are planning, a team
insist upon, I think, I do not know, it is half of 1% or whatever that has to go to that, 1% even. So,
yes, I think maybe a bit of lateral thinking on this until we can get our public finances in order.

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The Bailiff: Deputy Trott.

Deputy Trott: Sir, there is no doubt, is there, that the health benefits from sport are well known and the mental health benefits from the arts are also well known. We are fortunate to have an excellent infrastructure of public private partnerships throughout both those areas and for the reasons Deputy Roffey gave around the pressure on public finances my preference would be for us to continue to encourage the development of those public private partnerships because it is that shared investment that seems to have reaped the most obvious rewards, particularly over the last couple of years.

The Bailiff: Deputy Parkinson.

Deputy Parkinson: Well, I think we should continue to fund arts and sports through the Arts Council and the Sports Commission. I was a Member of the Committee of the Arts Council for many years and have a deep personal interest in that area. My sporting prowess is rather limited but I am an enthusiastic spectator and I believe in both as worthy causes, though there clearly is a limit to how much we can afford to give.

The Bailiff: And after Deputy Gabriel's question, it will be Deputy Murray. Deputy Gabriel's question, please.

Deputy Gabriel: Thank you, sir.

I am hoping you can hear me through my mask. Engagement is very important and engagement with the public. So my question is, how will you engage with the public and is the media, or will the media, be your friend or your foe?

The Bailiff: Deputy Roffey.

Deputy Roffey: One minute, how to engage the public? I think it is one of the biggest roles of a politician to engage with the public you represent. I will unashamedly use the media because you get to a lot of people very quickly. I also just like talking to people. I spend an awful lot of my time talking to people. I will go to speak to any interest group that wants to speak to me and I have a limited, faltering and infantile presence on social media, which I am happy to maintain to the best of my ability.

The Bailiff: Deputy Trott.

Deputy Trott: Are the media friend or foe? Well, the truth is they are both on occasions, aren't they? The media can be a very good friend and they can turn against you quite quickly. When they do turn against you as a politician, it is usually because they identify an absence of trust or consistency or possibly even honesty. And, in terms of engaging with the public, well it is hard work. I mean, it is often referred to the amount of effort we put in when we were bringing Zero-10 through. We did 117 public meetings, we thought we had enough of the public on side at about 90, but we did another nearly, whatever it was, 30 more because when you think you are done, you are not quite done. So it is a relentless amount of effort that is necessary. But trust and integrity with the media are essential as they are with the general public and everyone in this Assembly.

The Bailiff: Deputy Parkinson.

Deputy Parkinson: Well, in my experience, there are two types of public engagement. There are the ones where politicians talk at the public and tell them that this is the great new idea and this is why you should support it and then there are consultations where politicians genuinely ask the public what they think.

3095 I am not a great fan of the former. I think we have too many public presentations which, basically, are talking at the public and I think the public are bored with them and just do not turn up. So, I think I believe in consultation, in communication but it needs to be much more of the two way street variety and much less of the propaganda variety.

The Bailiff: Deputy Prow.

3100 **Deputy Prow:** Thank you, sir.

Engagement with the public is absolutely crucial and part of our jobs. It is very difficult where we are all very busy people, but we need to concentrate and place importance on it. We need to be accessible but we need to be focused and we need to use the mechanisms we have. Consultation processes I am very, very keen on that and we do a lot of that in Committee where we go and talk to the third sector face to face, listen to what they have to say and very much using those organisations around those focused issues, I think, is the best use of political time. The question of the media, that is a very difficult environment in this Island where we have only one newspaper.

3110 **The Bailiff:** Your time is up, I am afraid, Deputy Prow. So after Deputy Murray, it will be Deputy Dudley-Owen. Deputy Murray's question, please.

Deputy Murray: Thank you, sir.

We are facing substantial capital expenditure demands and an increasing structural deficit. How do you intend to address these competing priorities as soon as possible?

3115 Thank you.

The Bailiff: Deputy Trott.

3120 **Deputy Trott:** Sir, one of the issues around the Funding & Investment Plan is that we have now created an environment where we have set a tone and that tone is now so difficult to cut through that it is difficult to answer that question with any degree of certainty. Certainly the first thing that I would want to do, other than address the obvious issues that we spoke about earlier, is to have a proper conversation with the new P&R to see if there are any new ideas out there, if there are any ways of engaging with Members to find some way through this quagmire. But he knows how difficult the answer to this question is because we have got, exactly, we have got ourselves into a position where we have shut the door on so many options.

The Bailiff: Deputy Trott, I am afraid your minute is up. So, Deputy Parkinson.

3130 **Deputy Parkinson:** Well, I have said before I think the solution, in the short term, to our public finance problems is Pillar Two and what I would do from day one, is do a granular search through the Guernsey Company Registry to identify companies that, we believe, will be within the scope of Pillar Two.

3135 That is to say, members of large groups with a turnover of more than €750 million and I believe that research could be completed by March and that we would then, from that database, be able to make reasonable estimates of how much taxable income will arise in Guernsey under the Pillar Two rules and we apply the 15% tax rate, which is laid down as a minimum by the OECD, and that will tell us how much tax it will bring in. Now, I believe the number will be much bigger than the £10 million-£15 million that has been estimated by Ernst & Young, but until the research is done, 3140 until we have done that trawl through of the Guernsey Company Registry, we will not know.

The Bailiff: Deputy Parkinson, your minute is up. So, Deputy Prow, next please.

Deputy Prow: Thank you, sir.

3145 A very good question; we have already set out in the Capital Portfolio, in particular, what we need to do. Some of these things are just not nice to have; we have also recognised that we have not got the funding, so immediately you get back into the debates that we have already had. We have got to reset, we have got to look at where we are. We have agreed a budget, there are tax increases.

3150 As has already been mentioned, very welcome news around the 4% growth in the GDP, which will bring in more tax. What I would suggest we need to do is to stabilise where we are, be honest and realistic about what we can deliver and try and set up a better fiscal framework and ideas for the next Assembly. I think that is, frankly, the best we can achieve.

Thank you, sir.

3155 **The Bailiff:** Your minute is up, Deputy Prow. So, Deputy Roffey, please.

Deputy Roffey: Firstly, I will have the courage to try and drive through what we have approved in that core element because it is not going to be easy, particularly the motoring taxes. There is going to be enormous resistance and without that we are going to have to reel back, even from the limited capital programme, we did approve.

3160 Secondly, I am not going to try and buy votes today by trying to say that we can fund everything we would like to. We did not raise the money to allow us to do that and I am not going to get this Island into hock. I have been around for a long time; most of the States I have served in have been very prudent. I am not going to throw that to the four winds and say, let us build everything and let us hope that a future Assembly will find a way of funding it because that is just not the Guernsey way.

3170 **The Bailiff:** So after Deputy Dudley-Owen's question, it will be Deputy Vermeulen. Deputy Dudley-Owen, please.

Deputy Dudley-Owen: Per the prescribed duties and obligations, which states that Committee mandates must be respected and must not be undermined, and bearing in mind voting records of all bar one of the candidates on the significant policy areas of the ESC Committee debated by the States, how will the candidates seek to enhance the mandate of the ESC Committee and not diminish it?

The Bailiff: Deputy Parkinson.

3180 **Deputy Parkinson:** Well, I do respect Committee mandates. Obviously, there are decisions that any Committee has to bring back to the States and it is possible that a decision taken in Committee can be overturned in the Assembly. But I am a great believer, at least within our consensus system of Government that we have to empower and trust Committees, not centralised control and try and micromanage their decisions.

3185 **The Bailiff:** Deputy Prow.

Deputy Prow: Absolutely, we need to respect Committee mandates and we absolutely have to enhance their mandates. But I think the issue is worse than that, it is okay agreeing policy in principle but the Assembly has to underpin it. So it is for the Assembly and P&R's job is to persuade and bring the Assembly along to make sure that they underpin decisions made in this Assembly following policy letters that the Committees have brought and that is a question, again, of teamwork.

Thank you, sir.

3195 **The Bailiff:** Deputy Roffey.

Deputy Roffey: I am not quite sure what is meant by enhanced. If it means make bigger, I would not make ESC's mandate any bigger because I think it is quite big enough at the moment. If it means respecting mandates, yes, but it is a two way street. I take the view; I am really firm believer in our Committee system, you trust Committees to work up policy. As Deputy Parkinson said, the ultimate master is the States and not only getting approval in principle for your projects, if you cannot get the funding, then I think there is a duty on every Committee to have a little bit of lateral thinking in order to find a way forward, rather than just saying plan A is, plan A is plan A.

The Bailiff: Deputy Trott.

Deputy Trott: Sir, I have not got a history of interfering in political Committee mandates and I do not see any reason for that to change if I have a different role within this Assembly. But I am a political pragmatist and Deputy Dudley-Owen and I know full well that there are, with 18 months to go, there are limited number of options available to us.

I have already committed my support to her to make sure that the education estate is as fit for purpose as it can be. Assuming, of course, it is not possible to revisit this issue of an absolute commitment towards the education estate from a new build perspective during this term. But I will do whatever I can to support, but from a position of pragmatism.

The Bailiff: So after Deputy Vermeulen's question, it will be Deputy St Pier. Deputy Vermeulen, please.

Deputy Vermeulen: Thank you, sir.

There has been much talk about growth. What I would like to know is how would you create that growth?

The Bailiff: Deputy Prow.

Deputy Prow: Thank you, sir.

Well, we have an Economic Development Committee, which the questioner sits on, and my view the P&R team needs to sit down and work very closely with Economic Development and where there is growth potential it absolutely has to be explored and that, I think, is the case at the moment, but that needs to be reinvigorated and to continue. Let us have the ideas, let us see where growth realistically can be achieved. The finance industry is absolutely our backbone and that absolutely must be supported and economic growth also looks as though it is apparent in the 4% growth that has been reported.

Thank you, sir.

The Bailiff: Deputy Roffey.

Deputy Roffey: Well, our population is always going to be limited not only by household supply but by infrastructure and by competition for labour from other places. So, it cannot get growth just by throwing extra pairs of hands at it all the time. So, as I said in my opening speech, I think productivity and economic participation rates are absolutely key and where the States can also help, I think, goes back to the question before from Deputy Murray about our capital programme. There is precious little in our capital programme that actually seeks to actively promote economic growth and that does not necessarily mean I support a runway extension though, I have to say, I have got to be honest with Deputy Vermeulen. But I think we do need to look at things that actually promote growth.

The Bailiff: Deputy Trott.

3250 **Deputy Trott:** But, sir, as Deputy Vermeulen knows, financial services has produced some pretty spectacular growth, if the numbers are to be believed in 2022, and it was this Assembly that granted, or is going to I hope, grant additional funding to Guernsey Finance going forward because that promotion has clearly worked.

3255 I think the Wind Farm Project is an example of something that is capable of generating significant economic growth and I agree with the last point that Deputy Roffey made, and that is that some capital spending is far more economically generative than others. But of course, in an Assembly like ours we have got responsibilities, broad responsibilities, including social responsibilities. I am absolutely amazed that nobody has asked a question on Alderney Airport and I have not got time to answer that but that is an example of something that needs to be, I think, looked at very carefully from a cost benefit analysis.

3260 **The Bailiff:** Deputy Parkinson.

3265 **Deputy Parkinson:** Yes, I think one of the failings of what was otherwise a good piece of work on the Capital Program was it really failed to distinguish between capital projects which would be useful to enhance public services and capital projects which actually had the potential to stimulate economic growth, things like the Pool Marina and I believe those two categories need to be judged on different scales. You know, it is very hard to weigh a Pool Marina against a new wing at the Hospital but the reality is, if we want economic growth, we have to be prepared to invest to obtain it.

3270 **The Bailiff:** So after Deputy St Pier's question, it will be Alderney Representative Snowdon. So, Deputy St Pier, please.

Deputy St Pier: Thank you, sir.

3275 What specifically would the candidates want the Committee to do in the next 18 months to address the long term fiscal sustainability of the Island?

The Bailiff: Deputy Roffey.

3280 **Deputy Roffey:** Before I had any chance of delivering it, after taking soundings, I would actually bring back proposals to raise revenue and as was said, we do not underestimate how difficult the core proposals that were passed the other day will be to actually deliver, but I suspect it will not be, given the nature of this States because even if we change leadership, the chemistry of the States is the same.

3285 So as I said in my opening speech, I think really it is setting the ground so that the next Assembly can do it right at the beginning. The number of people that said to me they would have voted for a step change in taxation if they thought it could be achieved in this Assembly but it could not and it would only wither at the next election. We need to make sure the next Assembly can make that decision, really within the first six or eight months, I think.

3290 **The Bailiff:** Deputy Trott.

3295 **Deputy Trott:** So I think Deputy Roffey's answer to that question is an extremely sensible one. I said at the last election, and stood on a platform, that we were not taking enough tax. I was very clear about that. In fact, I briefed many Members of this Assembly from my position as the former Deputy Chief Minister in that regard, because 21.5% of GDP is simply not enough when our nearest neighbours are taking 26%, the Isle of Man 29% and so on.

3300 So, there is no doubt that we are not taking enough tax but I do not think, with the best will in the world, that this Assembly is able to make that decision at this stage in its development. So having something to hand over to the next Assembly, in the way that Deputy Roffey suggests, is an

eminently sensible idea. That is not to say that I will not give it a try and if we have the right makeup, if the next P&R has the right components to it, it is possible that something can be done. But there are a plethora of other priorities that can be focused on.

3305 **The Bailiff:** Deputy Trott, your minute is up I am afraid. Deputy Parkinson.

3310 **Deputy Parkinson:** Well, we are not going to solve the long term fiscal problems of the States of Guernsey in the next 18 months. I would not propose to bring back to the Assembly any proposals for a GST or for raising Income Tax rates, or for corporate tax reform beyond the Pillar Two charges that have already been announced and I think it is going to be as much as the States can do, and I am talking here about the Civil Service, to implement Pillar Two by January 2025 as we will be able to do and to wish for anything more than that in the next 18 months, I think, is impractical and I do not think it is actually necessary. I think it is very important that we get Pillar Two done.

3315 **The Bailiff:** And Deputy Prow.

Deputy Prow: Thank you, sir.

3320 Good question. I would encourage Committees to work and engage with the Government Work Plan, engage with it and to do more of that type of co-ordination with P&R. Savings, we have got to look at savings. We have mandated to do that and as I said in the previous answer, one of the ways of doing that is looking at operating models, particularly of big spending departments within the Committees and work collegiately across Committee. Engage constructively in the Presidents Forum, which I support and would retain. Have the difficult conversations across Committee with respect, always looking forward and always looking to deliver.

3325 Thank you, sir.

The Bailiff: So after Alderney Representative Snowdon, if there is time, it will be Deputy de Lisle. Alderney Representative Snowdon.

3330 **Alderney Representative Snowdon:** Thank you, sir.

 How do you see the new P&R working with Alderney and Sark in a positive manner, and also Jersey, as the Channel Islands get stronger together?

 Thank you.

3335 **The Bailiff:** Deputy Trott.

Deputy Trott: I have maintained my relationships with colleagues in Jersey throughout my political career. The same is true with my friends in Sark. I have always had a challenging relationship with Alderney because I will not say yes for the sake of it. Now, a classic example is Alderney Airport.

3340 It seems to me that not only was the business case not made when we debated this last time round, but importantly, how can we possibly justify spending between £26 million and £30 million on Alderney, the equivalent of £800 million spend on a per capita basis, when we cannot fulfil our obligations to our own capital spend here in Guernsey? So we cannot build a new school but we can build a new airport that does not make any economic sense. So, I absolutely know that was not the answer that my Alderney friend was hoping for, but it was the one he was expecting.

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The Bailiff: Deputy Parkinson.

Deputy Parkinson: Is it me?

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The Bailiff: Deputy Parkinson.

Deputy Parkinson: I am very supportive of the other Islands in the Bailiwick. As I sometimes remind my friends from Alderney that I am an old boy of St Anne's School and have a great fondness for the Island and I also believe that Guernsey has a residual responsibility for safeguarding the Alderney economy and that if the Alderney economy collapses, Alderney will become a millstone around the neck of the Guernsey taxpayer. So it is very important that we invest in Alderney connectivity to keep their economy alive and I have similar sentiments towards Sark and, of course, we have to work with our larger neighbours and cousins in Jersey.

The Bailiff: Deputy Prow.

Deputy Prow: I agree with Deputy Parkinson, so I will not rehearse what he said. Guernsey, Alderney, Sark, we are a Bailiwick and there are great strengths, both from tourism and in a lot of other areas. There are great strengths in the Bailiwick and we have got to build on those strengths.

Let us be positive, being negative is not the way forward. I think if there are issues with Alderney we do that by reviewing the 1948 Agreement and we sit down with Alderney and we discuss it properly in the round and bring back proposals to this Assembly. But the strength is in the Bailiwick and, I think, co-operating with Jersey is difficult, but a no brainer particularly with all the global issues that are going on, we have certainly got to sit down with Jersey.

The Bailiff: Your time is up, Deputy Prow, on that one. Deputy Roffey, please.

Deputy Roffey: I love Sark and spent a lot of my childhood over there, but I respect the fact that they are a very different jurisdiction to us and that while the UK always looks at us to be able to control everything that Sark does; we do have to recognise the boundaries. Alderney is slightly different. We are in fiscal union with Alderney and, as Deputy Parkinson says, we have co-joined interests in making sure that that fiscal union is vibrant and I have had a long history with Alderney. I was the Deputy that drove through the redevelopment of the Mignot Memorial Hospital when I was President of Health. And as for the runway issue, I think the case was absolutely made that so long as the gap between rebuilding as is and building with an extension is small enough, then it is absolutely justified by the £1 million a year that would be saved on the PSO. I am waiting for those figures to be appraised. I have no idea what they are.

The Bailiff: Well, Members of the States, you have had just over an hour, so I am afraid Deputy de Lisle's question will not get asked. I am sure you would like to show your appreciation for the questions and answers of the candidates for States. *(Applause)*

Now, Members of the States, it is time to vote by way of a secret ballot. So you will take your voting slip and I will simply remind you of the four candidates from whom you are choosing if you wish to vote for one of them. Deputy Parkinson was proposed by Deputy Matthews and seconded by Deputy Cameron. Deputy Prow was proposed by Deputy Murray and seconded by Deputy Gollop. Deputy Roffey was proposed by Deputy de Sausmarez and seconded by Deputy Le Tocq and Deputy Trott was proposed by Deputy Fairclough and seconded by Deputy Bury.

There was a ballot.

The Bailiff: Are there any more voting slips from any Members that have not been handed to the Sheriff and his little helper? Now, Members of the States, is it worth us trying to get on with something while the votes are being counted, or should we just rise for a moment? I tell you what, we will adjourn while these votes are counted because we will then come back and work out what happens next. So we will rise briefly until that time.

Well, Members of the States, the voting on this ballot is as follows. Deputy Parkinson polled five votes, Deputy Prow polled 15 votes, Deputy Roffey polled seven votes and Deputy Trott polled 13 votes. As a result of no candidate receiving a clear majority of the votes, the Rules provide that the

3405 candidates who receive fewer than six votes, or the lowest polling candidate, drops out of the ballot and there will be a second round of balloting but Deputy Parkinson will no longer be part of that vote.

3410 So you have got a choice between Deputy Prow proposed by Deputy Murray and seconded by Deputy Gollop, Deputy Roffey proposed by Deputy de Sausmarez and seconded by Deputy Le Tocq and Deputy Trott, proposed by Deputy Fairclough and seconded by Deputy Bury and we will do exactly the same again, because it is just going to be easier.

There was a ballot.

The Bailiff: Are there any more voting slips, Members of the States that you wish to hand to the Sheriff or any of the Deputy Sheriffs? Everyone has voted who wants to vote? In that case, the States will stand adjourned while those votes are counted.

3415 Well, Members of the States, on the second round of voting Deputy Prow received 16 votes, Deputy Roffey received five votes and Deputy Trott received 19 votes. So once again, no candidate has secured an overall majority and therefore I cannot declare any candidate duly elected to the Office of President of the Policy & Resources Committee.

3420 So we go to the third, and what one hopes will be final round, (*Laughter*) of voting but on this occasion Deputy Roffey is no longer a candidate in this round of voting and it is simply a choice between Deputy Prow, proposed by Deputy Murray and seconded by Deputy Gollop and Deputy Trott, who was proposed by Deputy Fairclough and seconded by Deputy Bury.

There was a ballot.

3425 **The Bailiff:** Are there any more voting slips from any Member that have not been handed to the Sheriff? In that case, once again, Members of the States, we will adjourn until the votes have been counted, and then we will resume as quickly thereafter as possible.

3430 Well, Members of the States, on the third round of voting Deputy Prow secured 19 votes, Deputy Trott secured 21 votes and therefore I declare Deputy Trott elected. (*Applause*) I declare Deputy Trott elected as the new President of the Policy & Resources Committee. Do you wish to say anything, Deputy Trott?

3435 **Deputy Trott:** Well only, sir, to thank the Assembly for the majority supporting my capabilities in this role. I think somebody; I think Deputy Prow, who was a very generous runner up a moment ago, said that Mrs Prow had not been fully supportive. I have no idea what Mrs Trott is going to say, to be perfectly honest with you! (*Laughter*)

The Bailiff: I can guess. I will invite Deputy Trott to come and take the customary position now.

Procedural – Remaining business

3440 **The Bailiff:** What I am going to propose that we do before rising now is deal with the first of the Statements, which is from a long time ago, originally. So Deputy Trott will come here, Deputy Prow will go back over there, Deputy Roffey will go there. Can I just suggest you all stay seated where you are seated at the moment and we deal with the update Statement on behalf of the Committee for Employment & Social Security and questions thereon.

3445 **Deputy de Sausmarez:** Sir, I would like to move a motion. (*Interjection*) I understand there is some priority legislation that we should be looking at and I think several Committees are waiting for that. I would like to put a motion that we look at legislation first.
Thank you.

3450 **The Bailiff:** Well, it is a very ambiguous sort of motion, 'We are going to deal with the legislation first'. What exact pieces of legislation do you want to deal with? We can deal with it tomorrow; it will not be a problem to start dealing with legislation tomorrow. So what is the motion?

3455 **Deputy Roffey:** I thought I was not going to speak for the next 18 months, but anyway that did not last long. (*Interjection*) Could I put a motion, sir, I think people are tired we have had a difficult day. I know you are keen, and rightly so, to get things ... [*Inaudible*] to adjourn now until tomorrow?

3460 **The Bailiff:** Okay, well, I will put the motion to Members that we simply conclude the business of today at this point, but then what are we going to start with in the morning? It will be the Statements because that is the order of business. So that is the motion; that we adjourn now. Those in favour; those against.

Members voted Pour.

The Bailiff: I will declare that carried and we will now close the meeting for the day.

The Assembly adjourned at 5.01 p.m.